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Memory of
ELIZABETH MACK, who
Departed this Life May 6th
1811.

Aged 85 Years 7 Months
and 4 days.

Our God will raise the trumpet
Sound to bid our kindred rise
As alive nations under general
Ye Saints Ascend the Skies.

ALEXANDER MACK, S.

THE FIRST MINISTER
AND ORGANIZER OF THE
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN
IN THE YEAR 1700.

BORN AT SCHLESHEIM,
GERMANY 1679.

CAME TO GERMANTOWN
1729. DIED 1735.

REMOVED FROM
AXE'S BURYING GROUND
1894.

Hier Ruhen
die geheime
A. M.

*A history of the German Baptist
Brethren in Europe and America*

Martin Grove Brumbaugh

INTRODUCTION.

To write the history of a religious movement, following it through all of its stages of growth, is no ordinary task, though all the data pertaining to the movement be easy of access. But when the material has to be taken from the forest, so to speak, and then reduced to shape, so as to make it an object of beauty, as well as the source of reliable information, the task becomes the more difficult. In quest of the valuable information here for the first time brought together in one volume, the author has been compelled to travel an unbeaten path. For the data the old libraries of Europe and America have been searched. Years have been spent collecting, arranging and simplifying this material so as to place it within the comprehension of the ordinary reader, and now this volume is given to the public in a form that must commend itself to the judgment of every student of modern church history.

Though made up of facts relating wholly to the experiences and incidents of past generations, its style is such as to render it as interesting and fascinating as a romance. This feature of the book we think will be pleasing to all classes of readers.

Concerning the competency of Brother Brumbaugh to produce a volume of such rare qualities, one has only to glance at his busy life. He was born in Hunt-

(vii)

ingdon County, Pennsylvania, in 1862, graduated at the age of nineteen in the Normal English Course at Juniata College, and in the Scientific Course in 1885. In the same institution he taught from 1882 to 1884.

He was County Superintendent of Public Instruction in Huntingdon County from 1884 to 1890. He has lectured at Teachers' Meetings and Institutes in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana and Kentucky. His election to the ministry in the Brethren church occurred in 1891.

He was a graduate student at Harvard University in 1891-1892; took the A. M. degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1893, and the Ph. D. degree in 1894. In this institution he became Professor of Pedagogy in 1895, which position he still holds. Since 1894 he has also been President of Juniata College.

He is widely known as the author of the "Juniata Bible Lectures," "The Stories of Pennsylvania" (with Dr. Walton), and the "Liberty Bell Leaflets." As a teacher he has had an extensive experience, having taught in every grade, from the country school to the University.

The summer of 1896 was spent in Europe studying educational work, gathering material for his book, and looking up the data of the Brethren church in that part of Germany where our ancient Brethren inaugurated their reformatory movement. History with him has been a favorite as well as a delightful study, espe-

work was published in 1857. It is generally regarded as a standard work. On page 23, Vol. II, Watson says, "In 1709 the Tunkards from Germany and Holland emigrated to Pennsylvania, and settled *first* at Germantown. Their first collected meetings were held in the *log house* in front of their present stone church in Beggarstown. Alexander Mack was then their principal leader. He was a very rich miller in Cresheim, gave all his property in common, and came with eight or ten to Germantown in 1708. He died old; and his son Alexander lived to be near ninety-one years of age."

All of which is current history and valuable save that no Tunkards emigrated from either Holland or Germany in 1708; nor did they hold their first meetings in the *log house*; nor was Alexander Mack then their principal leader, since they did not then exist in America; nor did he come with eight or ten to Germantown in 1709; nor did he die old; nor did his son Alexander live "to be near ninety-one years of age."

In belief they have been even more widely misrepresented. They have been confused with the Pietists, the Mennonites, the Ephrata community of Seventh Day Baptists, the Amish, the Wissahickon Hermits, the Separatists, the New Born, and all sorts of new Anabaptist societies and sects. It is to be hoped that this volume will dispel all such errors and show the Brethren in their true light, a body of Christian people with a definite body of doctrine based upon the

known and perhaps most important epochs in the growth of the church. The later history is well enough preserved in the minutes of congregations, the records of Annual and District Meetings and in the literature of the Brotherhood. It is to be regretted that more care is not shown in preserving carefully and depositing in some central place complete records of all congregational activities. The date of organization, election of officers, erection of houses of worship, time and attendants at love feasts, records of baptisms, of deaths and of marriage, together with action on Missions, Colleges, and Sunday Schools should be carefully noted at length by the proper officer in each congregation. The elder in charge should see that this is carefully done.

The aim has been not merely to give a relatively complete record of the early church, but to use this record as a defense of primitive Christianity as believed, interpreted and practiced by the church of the German Baptist Brethren. Without in any way perverting history the writer has aimed at making history defend doctrine and indicate future activities by the church.

The collating of this material has been a labor of increasing interest. To find a new fact, to uncover a lost record, to gain an additional link in the chain of events has been the sustaining power in many a weary hour's search. It is to be regretted that, with one exception, no member has aided in the work, al-

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A History of the Brethren.

CHAPTER I.—INFLUENCES DOMINATING GERMANY AT THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

FROM the days of the Luther Reformation Germany became the centre of religious agitation. After a thousand years of unchecked control the Catholic Church found in the spirit of Protestantism a worthy rival. This influence may, indeed, be traced to the eleventh century and to the bold, defiant, scholastic leader, Peter Abelard⁽¹⁾ of Paris, pupil of the celebrated William of Champeaux. It was Abelard's defense of human reason as opposed to church dogma that led to the creation of European Universities and the development of Scholasticism. From this sprang the Luther Reformation and the scholarly isolation of Erasmus.⁽²⁾

These men agreed in one essential principle—religion must be an appeal to the individual human reason. In due course of time this principle led to a general upheaval of religious organizations. The supremacy of the Catholic church in Germany was

(1) For an account of Abelard see Denifle's *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters*; also Compayré's *Abelard, and the Rise of Medieval Universities*.

(2) For the relation of Erasmus to the Reformation see *Works of Erasmus*, by Le Clerc, 10 vols., 1703.

found his religious convictions running counter to these; whose faith was of a different sort; who interpreted his Bible in another sense; who worshiped God in his own way; found life a burden and a cross. Church and State vied in their zeal to persecute dissenters. The harmless Mennonites,⁽¹⁾ the God-fearing Schwenkfelders, the Pietists,⁽²⁾ and the Mystics were alike reviled, persecuted, and regarded as fit subjects for insane asylums or prisons. What happened to these in the closing years of the seventeenth century became also the fate of the Taufers in the opening third of the eighteenth century.

These people were the most ardent product of the reformation. They did not stop on middle ground with Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli. They carried the spirit of protestation to the acceptance of the maxim: "No exercise of force in religion." This was fundamental in the belief and practice of the Taufers or German Baptist Church. From this they were led logically to define conclusions at variance with the state churches,—conclusions for which they suffered all forms of irreligious persecution, but which they heroically wrought into a new and unique body of truth.

Let us see what this principle of non-coercion gave the church.

(1) See D. K. Cassel's *History of the Mennonites*.

(2) See Sachse's *Pietists of Colonial Pennsylvania*, and Pennypacker's *Historical and Biographical Sketches*.

"Moreover there were in *Germany*, as it were, three sorts of Pietists:(1) One consists of those who sought, and pressed nothing else, but sincere Religion and true Piety: and the greatest part of these are of the learned and better sort of men through Saxony and all Germany.

"Another sort of them cried that the church is much corrupted. They loved Piety; but they were such as on the other hand stagger not a little in the Faith and True Religion, and these some are commonly less moderate and more violent in celebrating their assemblies, etc.

"The third sort of them may be called *Behmists* or *Teutonists*. These call back, as it were, *Jacob Behman*,⁽²⁾ the shoemaker of Garlingen in Silesia, from the dead. They advocated the opinions of Boehme [or Behman] and denounced the errors that had been falsely laid upon him, and ascribed to him; yea, and horrid and hellish blasphemy, and exalted his opinions as worthy of all esteem and glory."

The Anabaptists of Münster were an offshoot of the second and third classes as outlined by Croese. They were given to the wildest excesses. Their leaders were illiterate and fanatical. They at various times advocated such doctrines as the following:

(a) Man can unquestionably earn salvation by virtuous conduct and by his own efforts. Christ is rather our father and teacher than our redeemer.

(b) This was soon followed by the declaration of Hans Denk, "God is love,—love supremely exemplified in Jesus of Nazareth, Jesus never stumbled, never

(1) Croese's *Quakeriana*, Vol. III, p. 555 *et seq.* A copy of the second Latin edition, which is very rare, is in the library of the writer. Gerard Croese, a Protestant divine, was born at Amsterdam in 1642. He studied at Leyden, went to Smyrna, returned, became pastor at Alblasserdam, near Dort, where he died in 1710.

(2) They are also known as Gichtelians.

Some refused to take oath or to bear arms, holding the oath to be sinful and forbidden and the taking of life under any circumstances sinful. This brought upon them the stern opposition of the state, especially in such cities as Strasburg where once a year the citizens, the sole defense of the city, bound themselves by an oath (*Bürgereid*) of allegiance on the annual swearing day (*Schwörtag*). Still others were daft on the marriage question, like the tanner, Claus Frei, who held that the only valid marriage was a marriage in the spirit. He left his lawful wife and traveled with another woman whom he called his "only spiritual wedded sister."⁽¹⁾

They became intoxicated with license of speech and traversed Germany as wandering apostles, living a whitherless and purposeless life. When they met they saluted with the words, "The peace of the Lord be with you," to which the answer was, "We have the same peace." Among these fanatics was the leader of the insurrection at Münster in 1534, Bernhard Rottman. He undertook to reform the administration of the Holy Sacrament.

"He broke white bread into a large wide dish; poured wine thereon; and, after he had spoken the words of the Lord at the Last Supper, he told those who desired the Sacrament to take and eat. Hence he was called *Stuten Bernhard*, for white bread is called stuten in their tongue."⁽²⁾

(1) Röhrich, Vol. II, pp. 93 and 101.

(2) Dorpius, *Wahrhaftige Historie wie das Evangelium zu Münster angefangen*, sheet C. For a fuller account of these Münster Anabaptists see Leopold Ranke's *History of the Reformation in Germany*, Vol. III. London, 1847.

CHAPTER II.—THE PIETISTIC PATHFINDERS.

BRO. ABRAHAM CASSEL is fond of speaking of some of the German Pietists as pathfinders for the Brethren. If we understand the term to mean men who broke away from dogmatic theology and exalted individual experience as the test of Christian excellence, he is correct. If by the term we mean men whose teachings were instrumental in forming the congregation we have only a half truth. If by the term we mean men who shaped the purpose and directed the organization we are wholly wrong. Neither Catholic, nor Protestant, nor Pietist, did that. The church was the joint product of Bible study and protest against all existing forms of worship.

Among the Pietists who did yearn for a better day and a purer faith combined with a holy life was

PHILIP JACOB SPENER.

He was born in Alsace, January 13, 1635, and died in Berlin, February 5, 1705. He advocated a system of personal and practical piety and taught that "Christianity is first of all life, and the strongest proof of the truth of its doctrine is to be found in the religious experience of the believer." Hence to Spener only persons inspired by the Holy Ghost could understand

the Scriptures.⁽¹⁾ His influence upon Alexander Mack was remote and indirect.

AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE.

He was born in Lübeck, March 23, 1663, and died June 8, 1727. He is chiefly known as the founder of a charitable institution at Halle for the education of poor children and orphans, which early became widely known for its good work. It is known as "das Hallische Waisenhaus." The missionary department of this orphanage sent Rev. Henry Melchior Mühlenthal, the founder of the American Lutheran Church, to Pennsylvania. Francke was a successful pastor at Glaucha, a suburb of Halle. In 1694 he became Professor of Oriental Languages, and, later, of Theology at Halle University.⁽²⁾ From Halle the Bible was issued in the German Language. Numerous editions were published, one of which, the 34th, is the basis of the text of the Saur Bible of Germantown in 1743.

GOTTFRIED ARNOLD,

A Lutheran clergyman and well known writer in Mystic Theology, born Sept. 5, 1666, at Annaberg, Saxony, was the author of numerous works that influenced the thought of the early Brethren. He was a Theological student at Wittenberg and a follower of

(1) A corresponding movement headed by Michael Molinos occurred in the Catholic Church. The followers of Molinos were called Quietists. See Croese's *Historia Quakeriana*, Book II, p. 348.

(2) Halle University was founded by Frederic I, King of Prussia, in 1694.

JEREMIAS FELBINGER.

Alexander Mack in discussing immersion⁽¹⁾ says, "The command to baptize properly signifies, according to the Greek word, *to immerse*, and it has been so translated by Jeremias Felbinger, and many others." Felbinger was born in Brieg, Silesia, in 1616. He was fifty years earlier than Arnold and largely influenced the latter in his interpretation of Scriptures. He was Superintendent of Schools at Coszlin in Pomerania, and later he formed associations by letter with Dr. Grossen, Superintendent at Colberg, Dr. Pelargo and others. Later at Amsterdam he was so poor that, notwithstanding his great learning, he gained a meager livelihood as a proof reader in a large printing establishment. As early as 1660 he translated the New Testament literally into German. He was conversant with Holland, Latin, Greek, German, and Hebrew, and wrote or translated into these different languages. His principal work, so far as relates to the Brethren, is his *Christian Hand Book* or *Christliches Handbüchlein*.⁽²⁾ The volume in seven chapters treats of Man's Apostasy and Reconciliation; of the Admission of Immature Children into the Visible Church; of Holy Baptism; of Church Discipline; of Feet Washing as an ordinance of the Church; of the Holy Supper; and of the Problem of the Oath.

(1) *Rites and Ordinances*, Edition 1888, p. 23.

(2) A third edition, 12 mo., 129 pp., was published by Samuel Sower, son of the second Christopher Sower, at Baltimore, in 1799.

the celebrated Thomasius⁽¹⁾ lecture on law. At Halle Hochmann was "awakened" by August Hermann Francke, a pupil of Spener. In 1693 he was arrested and expelled from Halle because of his testimony for Jesus Christ and his strictures upon the state religions. The incident that confirmed his position and made him a pronounced separatist is the following: One day he was out hunting. When breaking through a hedge, the hilt of his sword was caught in a twig in such a manner that sword and twig formed a cross. This incident confirmed his previous scruples against hunting. He threw away his sword-belt and sword saying, "Now, henceforth never again! I renounce all worldly pleasures; and surrender wholly and decisively to God and Jesus Christ, firmly resolved to risk life and body, good and blood for Christ's sake. I shall fear neither fire nor swords, neither gallows nor wheel for Christ's sake."⁽²⁾

In 1697, Hochmann came to Giessen and became associated with Gottfried Arnold and other like-minded ones, notably Dippel. Here Hochmann was drawn into a new religious order and became more emphatic in his hostility to all the creed-centered churches of the State. The next year he removed to Frankfurt. At this time his life was rich in piety. He wrote to a friend at Giessen, "I gladly confess that

(1) Thomasius in 1600, was expelled from Leipsic University on account of his pietistic teachings. He then removed to Halle.

(2) M. Goebel, *Christliches Leben*, Vol. II, p. 811.

if Divine Wisdom grants me to feel an inflow of the great glory of those who sit with Christ on His throne, then my spirit will be to such a degree inspired to continue the fight, that if I had a thousand lives, I would willingly risk them for Him. Alas! it is but a trifle to suffer in this world," etc.

While at Frankfurt he issued an earnest exhortation in an open letter to the Jews, urging them to seek conversion in view of the immediate second advent of the Lord. In the Synagogue he delivered such earnest and impassioned prayers that the Jews fell to weeping and moaning, and some took Hochmann to be a Jew. Many of them followed him, and for their approaching conversion they sang with him a hymn he composed for the occasion—"Wenn endlich, etc."⁽¹⁾

Hochmann, however, soon learned that the conversion of the Jews was the hardest of all works of Christian charity.⁽²⁾ Gichtel in 1702 wrote: "The dear Hochmann will at last come to know himself. Good intentions often deceive us. Without the spirit of God we cannot accomplish anything before the appointed time. I have also labored to convert the Jews and I know that God's time is different from our own."

(1) *Freylinghausen Gesangbuch*, p. 1346.

(2) He did make a powerful impression on many of them. A foreign Jew who happened to hear Hochmann at this time met him in Prague years later. He requested Hochmann to grant him a favor. Hochmann consented, whereupon the Jew gave him a bag of gold. Hochmann took it and then begged the Jew to grant him a favor. The Jew agreed and Hochmann returned the bag of gold saying: "Give it generously and to the glory of God to the poor and wretched of your own people."

Then he turned his whole attention to the destruction of the organized sectarian churches. He regarded them as Babel, and labored to gather the believing ones into closer unity. If he did not absolutely insist upon the awakened ones leaving the church, he yet always preferred that they should, from a most pronounced inward desire, sever their connection completely from the state churches. He warned all those that had gone forth from Babel not to return to it.

In 1709, when just out of prison at Nürnberg, he wrote to some lukewarm ones in the Palatine, "Do not blame me, beloved Brethren and Sisters, that I with such great and loving zeal wish to draw you away from human organizations, and instead, urge you to go to the Almighty God himself. I am certain that you will not find any peace for your soul until you shall have both outwardly and inwardly done with Babel, and surrender yourselves to Jesus. Therefore, give yourselves up entirely to Jesus, my King, and you will learn in deed and in truth that he is your all-sufficient Redeemer."

Driven from Frankfurt in 1798 by persecution, he found refuge in Hesse-Cassel; and the next year in Wittgenstein. Here he lived a solitary, ascetic life, renounced all earthly callings, and even endeavored to fast in the desert for forty days, after the manner of our Lord. His pious zeal resulted in the "awakening" of the Count and the Countess von Wittgenstein, and especially of the Countess Widow, Hedwig Sophia

in order to annoy this "Quaker-Devil." But Hochmann preached so powerfully that the man began to pray and on his way home he exclaimed, "Oh! what a wicked fool I have been. This man teaches the right way to God." The young man reformed, became a follower of Hochmann, and after his death, his poor widow found her richest comfort in hearing again and again of Hochmann and his friend Peter Lobach.⁽¹⁾

In the midst of his trials his life-long friend, Dr. Johann Conrad Dippel, the famous separatist, then living in Holland, came to his aid. In a bitter satire he accused the Wesel ministers for sitting in a warm nest, living and posturing at ease in this world, and unfit to rise into heaven with Christ. He defended Hochmann, recites the story of his honorable ancestry, his own resolute refusal of state preferment for religion's sake, and concludes in these words: "He is walking on the path where God is to be found; while you, even in the best of your deeds, seem to be running ever farther away from him. If I am to judge you by your writing, you seem to be putting out your own eyes so as never to see his Light, his Savior and his Glory."⁽²⁾

This polemic only embittered the already unhappy career of Hochmann and hastened the date of his retirement to Schwarzenau.

(1) Peter Lobach was a member at Creyfelt who endured four years' imprisonment for becoming a member of the Brethren church.

(2) The letter in full is in Vol. II of Goebel's *Christliches Leben*.

At Schwarzenau in a valley, called the valley of "huts" or of "peace" to this day, Hochmann built a lonely little house. This hut of his was only a few paces in length and width. It had a kitchen and a sleeping room. He called it "Friedensburg." Here,



Scene near Hochmann's Home—Schwarzenau.

as a neighbor to Alexander Mack, they were in close communion, and "Friedensburg," no doubt, was the scene of many solemn conferences between these noted men. Here Hochmann was visited by representatives of all the non-state religions. But to none was he so intimately attached as to the little band of

refugees under Mack. They held much in common. Mack, however, was always anxious to organize a congregation in which the ordinances of God's house could be honored and observed. This led eventually to separation and painful regrets on the part of both. Like Erasmus in the days of Luther, Hochmann believed it better to reform from within, but Mack with a fearless spirit and a resolute will broke from every entangling alliance, accepted only the logic of events, relied upon God to guide him aright, and boldly organized a new congregation with the Bible as the rule and guide in all things.

From this separation Hochmann never rallied. His strongest supporters were now with the new congregation, and he spent his old days in solitude and sorrow. That Hochmann ever joined the church of the Brethren is an open question. It was currently reported that he was immersed at Schwarzenau by Alexander Mack, and the latter's son, long years afterwards, in writing a list of persons whom he knew and who had died before himself names "Brother Hochmann von Hochenau." In that list Bishop Mack does not call any one "Brother" who was not in the communion of the church of the German Baptist Brethren, unless this one example is an exception in a list of nearly two hundred names.

If not a member, he was at least so closely identified with the first members that he worshiped with them, endorsed their views, loved their fellowship,

CHAPTER III.—THE MOTHER CONGREGATION IN GERMANY.

1708 is a memorable year to the church of the German Baptist Brethren.

In that year at Schwarzenau, Province of Wittgenstein, in Hesse-Cassel, was enacted a remarkable scene. Eight pious souls, after careful prayer and prolonged study, relying only upon God and the Bible to guide them and their followers forever, walked slowly, solemnly and heroically from the house of Alexander Mack to the river Eder, which, like a silver thread, wound its way through the heart of a rich and varied landscape. Here the pious eight, in the early morning, surrounded by many curious witnesses, knelt in prayer, and then one of them led Alexander Mack into the water and immersed him three times, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Then Alexander Mack baptized the other seven, and these eight, perhaps the first to receive trine immersion in the history of the Protestant Church, then organized a new congregation. This new congregation chose one of their number, Alexander Mack, as their leader, and thus began the *Taufers* or *German Baptist Church*, as a separate and distinct organization. These eight members, the beginning of the church, were,—



The Valley of the Lieder—near Schwarzenau.

ligious prior to the organization of the Taufers or Tunkers. Alexander Mack was from Schriesheim; Luke Vetter and George Grebi were from Hesse-Cassel; Andrew Bony was from Basle in Switzerland; and John Kipping was from Bareit in Würtemberg. They were refugees from intolerance and persecution, living temporarily in Wittgenstein, because it was at that time ruled by the mild and humane Count Heinrich von Wittgenstein.

They were all members of a Protestant church before 1708. Kipping was a Lutheran, Mack, Vetter, Bony, and Grebi were bred Presbyterians.⁽¹⁾ But they were by no means satisfied with the formalism and ritualism with which their spirits were oppressed. On the other hand they could not fully and unreservedly adopt the faith of the Pietists whose utter hatred for all church organization had led them to abandon the ordinances of the house of God. Rejecting on the one hand the creed of man, and on the other hand the abandonment of ordinances, they turned to the Bible for guidance. From God's Word they learned that ordinances were vital and creed unnecessary. Adopting the Bible as their rule and guide they organized a church with no creed, and with all the ordinances as taught by Jesus and his followers, as recorded in the New Testament. Their position is unique. They have no counterpart in history, save the mother

(1) The word "Presbyterian" in this connection means Reformed.

brethren and three sisters. The five brethren were, George Grebi, from Hesse-Cassel, the first; Lucas Vetter, likewise from Hessa, the second; the third was Alexander Mack, from the Palatinate of Schriesheim, between Mannheim and Heidelberg; the fourth was Andrew Bony, of Basle, in Switzerland; the fifth, John Kipping, from Bareit, in Württemberg. The three sisters were, Joanna Noethiger, or Bony, the first; Anna Margaretha Mack, the second; and Joanna Kipping, the third.

These eight persons covenanted and united together as brethren and sisters into the covenant of the cross of Jesus Christ to form a church of Christian believers. And when they had found, in authentic histories, that the primitive Christians, in the first and second centuries, uniformly, according to the command of Christ, were planted into the death of Jesus Christ by a three-fold immersion into the water-bath of holy baptism, they examined diligently the New Testament, and finding all perfectly harmonizing therewith, they were anxiously desirous to use the means appointed and practiced by Christ himself, and thus according to his own salutary counsel, go forward to the fulfillment of all righteousness.

Now the question arose, who should administer the work externally unto them? One of their number,⁽¹⁾ who was a leader and speaker of the Word in

(1) This, of course, was Mack himself.

their meetings, had visited, in sincere love, different congregations of Baptists (*Taufgesinnten*) in Germany, most of which admitted that holy baptism, when performed by an immersion in water and out of love to Christ, was indeed right; but they would also, besides this, maintain that pouring of a handful of water might also do very well, provided all else would be right.

The conscience, however, of them (the brethren) could not be satisfied with this. They therefore demanded of him, who led in preaching the Word, to immerse them, according to the example of the primitive and best Christians, upon their faith. But he, considering himself as unbaptized, required first to be baptized of some one of them before he should baptize another. So they concluded to unite in fasting and prayer, in order to obtain of Christ himself, the founder of all his ordinances, a direction and opening in this matter; for he who was requested to baptize the other, wanted to be baptized by the church of Christ, and the rest had the same desire.

In this their difficulty they were encouraged by the words of Christ, who has said so faithfully, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." With such confidence in the precious and sure promise of God, they, under fasting and prayer, cast lots to learn which of the four brethren should baptize that brother who so anxiously desired to be baptized by the church of Christ. They

Ebstein; John Nasz and several others from Norten; Peter Becker, from Dillsheim. And to these were added also John Henry Trout and his brothers, Heinrich Holsapple, and Stephen Koch. The most of these came during those seven years to Crefeld; John Henry Kalkleser, however, and Abraham Duboy came to Schwarzenau; so did also George B. Gansz, from Umstatt, and Michael Eckerlin, from Strasburg.

But as they found favor with God and men on the one hand, so (on the other hand) there were also enemies of the truth, and there arose here and there persecutions for the Word's sake. There were those who suffered joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and others encountered bonds and imprisonment; some for a few weeks only, but others had to spend several years in prison. Christian Libe was some years fastened to a galley, and had to work the galling oar among malefactors; yet, by God's special providence, they were all delivered again with a good conscience.

Since the persecutions in the form of poverty, tribulation, and imprisonment, by which they were oppressed, made them only the more joyful, they were tried in another manner, by men of learning seeking to confound them with sharp disputations and subtle questions, of which the forty searching questions of Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, which, with their answers, will be annexed to this treatise, will sufficiently inform the reader.

About this time it was deemed expedient by the

church of the Lord in Schwarzenau to issue this publication, for the instruction of those pure-minded persons who are seeking after truth. And in this work every impartial reader, if he will read it with these introductory remarks, and without prejudice, can find what has been the cause and object of publishing it.⁽¹⁾

But, inasmuch as those which then stood in the work of the Lord so cheerfully, and confessed the truth with great simplicity and honesty, have now all departed in peace, the desire has arisen in those churches which bear the same testimony here in America, and which have likewise given themselves to the Lord to walk in the truth, to have this simple testimony again published, more especially for the benefit of our dear youth, that they may have a plain and simple exposition of the truth in which they are instructed, and chiefly for the glory of God, who has so wonderfully preserved his truth even to these latter times.

This simple testimony of truth we commend to the good and wise God for protection, and, as an offering, we lay it at his feet of mercy. And may he give to the kind reader such a state of mind that will cause him to love the truth, and be acceptable to him, for it is only when we are in such a state that the truly divine Spirit who will enable us to prove all things

(1) This ends the original document, printed at Schwarzenau. What follows was written by Alexander Mack, Jr.

CHAPTER IV.—BRANCHES OF THE MOTHER CONGREGATION IN GERMANY.

THE Schwarzenau congregation flourished from the beginning. Its missionary spirit led to the founding of a second congregation in the Marienborn district. After their persecutions in Marienborn this new congregation found refuge in Creyfelt in 1715. A third congregation was established at Epstein, and many members were living in Switzerland of whom we have no record.

The Schwarzenau congregation in 1720 was bitterly persecuted and its members under Alexander Mack fled for protection to Westervain in West Friesland.⁽¹⁾

This congregation flourished for nine years in Friesland and then owing to the promising outlook in Pennsylvania the congregation chartered the ship Allen, James Craigie, Master,⁽²⁾ and sailed July 7, 1729, from Rotterdam, touching at Cowes, for Pennsylvania. They landed at Philadelphia, and qualified Sept. 15, 1729. The entire list of members crossing the ocean in the Allen is fifty-nine families, one hundred and twenty-six souls.⁽³⁾ Only those males above the age of sixteen were required to qualify.

(1) Sometimes called Surestervin, West Friesland; see Morgan Edward's *History of the Baptists in America*, Vol. I, Pt. IV.

(2) *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII. p. 18.

(3) See page 93.

or obedience to him & do solemnly promise, that I will be true and faithful, & bear true Allegiance to King George the Second & to him will be faithfull against all traitorous Conspiracies & attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his Person, Crown & Dignity, & I will doe my best Endeavours to disclose & make known to King George the Second & his Successors all Treasons and traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know to be made against him or any of them. And I will be true and faithfull to the succession of the Crown against him the said James & all other Persons whatsoever as the same is & stands settled by An Act Entitled An Act declaring the Rights & Liberties of the Subject, & settling the Succession of the Crown to the late Queen Anne & the Heirs of her Body being Protestants, and as the same by one other Act Entitled An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown & better securing the Rights & Liberties of the Subject is & stands Settled & Entailed after the Decease of the said late Queen, & for Default of Issue of the said late Queen to the late Princess Sophia Electoress & Duchess Dowager at Hanover the Heirs of Her Body being Protestants and all these things I do plainly & sincerely acknowledge promise & declare, according to these express words by me spoken, & according to the plain & common sense and understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, mental Evasion or Secret Reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgement, Renunciation & Promise heartily willingly and truly."⁽¹⁾

At Marienborn John Naas was the Elder in charge.

(1) *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII.

congregations. This list is by no means complete; but it is vastly more complete than any list yet given to the public, and will not be without value and interest to those whose hearts warm towards the first members of the church of the Brethren and whose spirits are athirst for the truth. I have thought it best to give in connection with the name such facts as I have been able to glean concerning each one. The sources of this information are so diverse and, in many cases, inaccessible, that I have cited none. The facts, however, have in each case ample justification.

bly entertained Stephen Koch. Henry Häcker ended his days as a solitary, *i. e.*, unmarried, at Ephrata.

Häcker (Hoecker), —, a member at Creyfelt, whose marriage was the occasion of the first division in the church.

Häcker, —, wife of above, also a member at Creyfelt. Her father was a Mennonite preacher.

Häcker.

Hageman, John Henry, lived at Falckner's Swamp. An important meeting was held in his house in 1728. (*Ephrata Chronicles*, p. 41.)

*Hammer, Rinehart.

Hammer, Susan.

Hendrickson, Dirck, a Hollander who joined the church in West Friesland.

Henkle, Johann, joined the Creyfelt congregation in 1714. He suffered for this by imprisonment in Gülch prison for four years.

*Hinschle (Hisle), Valentine Gerhart, same, no doubt, as Hissle, as given next below.

*Hissle (Hisle), John, arrived in Philadelphia too sick to leave vessel at once.

Hissle, Susannah Catrina.

Hildebrand, Johannis, attended first love feast in America. Father-in-law of Valentine Mack. A preacher of some note, a man of good repute, who with his son-in-law and Henry Kalckglässer joined the Ephrata Society. He died in 1765.

Hildebrand, Maria, wife of John. Attended first love feast in America. Died, 1757.

Hirsch, —, a single brother in Schwarzenau.

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

fluence in organizing new congregations. He lived at Germantown, and died January 4, 1733. Stephen Koch says of him, "He was an important brother and when I saw Brother Traut pass from time to eternity my heart was sorrowful and deeply grieved and it made such a deep impression upon me that I continually sighed unto God."

Traut, Jeremiah, attended first love feast in America. Never married.

Traut, Balser, attended first love feast in America. was twice married.

Traut, —, first wife of above.

Traut, —, second wife of above.

Traut, Magdalena, attended first love feast in America.

*Ulland, Matthias.

*Ulland, Johannis.

*Vetter, George.

Vetter (Fetter), Lucas, a member in Germany, known by Alexander Mack, Jr. He never came to America. He was one of the original eight at Schwarzenau.

Vetter, —, wife of Lucas and a member of the church, but joined at Schwarzenau after 1708.

*Weiss (Wiss), Jacob. His death is recorded by Alexander Mack, Jr.

*Whitman, Maria Phillis.

*Wichtman (Whitman), Johannis.

Wintersee, Johannis.

Zettel, Philip, a brother whose death is lamented by Brother Mack.

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

Zettel, —, wife of Philip.

Zwingenberg, —. John Naas in October 1733
sends fraternal greeting to this Brother at
Creyfelt from Germantown.

of it, and yet remain faithful to Christ; for such things nowadays are followed by nothing but crosses and tribulations, as antichrist will rage yet fiercely against the members of Christ, and hence one must well count the cost beforehand, if one wants to be able to follow willingly the Lord Jesus in all things. Without this true following of Christ the water-baptism, even if performed on adults after the example of the primitive Christians would avail little or nothing."⁽¹⁾ He also in the same letter treats of the Lord's Supper, which he had omitted entirely on account of the abuse of it and the hypocrisy connected with it,⁽²⁾ and which Mack and his followers were resolved to introduce as an ordinance of the new church. "The foundation of it must be in the love of Jesus and in the real communion of Brethren. Wherever the love of Jesus unites the hearts inwardly and has urged them to hold the outward love feast in the memory of the Lord Jesus, and also allows their life to be changed for the sake of Jesus Christ and his congregation, thus professing with heart and mouth and deed the death of Christ, *against that I will not stand*, since it is in accord with the Scriptures."

In a subsequent letter he says, "I have no objection if any man for the sake of conscience wants to be completely immersed (*eindumpeln*)."

(1) Goebel's *Christliches Leben*. Vol. III.

(2) Luther says an Augustine Monk at Rome in the sacramental service said, "Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art and wine thou shalt remain."—*Painter's Luther on Education*, p. 15.

Copia eines Pietistischen Glaubens-Bekanntnisses.

Nachdem von Mir mir gestern bey Nacht angekündiget worden / daß die gnädigste Herrschafft in meine unterthänig gebettene Dimission gewilliget / wann ich vorhero ein kurz's Glaubens-Bekanntnis vor mir gestellt haben würde / als habe hiemit solches ganz kurz entwerffen sollen / wie folget:

1. Ich glaube einen ewigen einigen / allmächtigen / allgegenwertigen Gott / so sich im Alten Testament / als der Gott Abraham Isaac und Jacob / in dem neuen Bund aber als Vatter Sohn und Geist geoffenbaret hat. Matth. 28. v. 19. und befinde ich in meiner Seelen nicht nöthig zu seyn darüber viel zu disputiren oder kritisiren: sondern halte vor bester diesem ewigen Göttlichen Wesen im Vatter / Sohn und Geist sich demüthig zu unterwerffen / und seine inwendige Würdigung zu erfahren / wie der Vatter den Sohn / und der Sohn wiederum den Vatter inwendig offenbaret / und dieses durch die kräftige Würdigung des Heil. Geistes / ohne weichen in Göttlichen Dingen nichts erlanet werden kan / und dis ist auch allein das ewig. Leben / daß man diesen einigen GOTT recht erkenne wie Christus spricht Joh XVII, 3, und damit ich mich dis / falls kürzlich erkläre / so bekenne ich mich mit Mund und Herzen zu dem ahrakten Außelischen Glaubens-Bekanntnis, Credo in Deum, &c.

2. Von der Tauffe glaube ich / daß sie Christus allein vor die erwählere / und nicht vor die kleinen Kinder eingesetzt / weil man davon in der ganzen D. Schrift kein jota eines ausdrücklichen Befehls auffweisen kan / dann die Argomena und gute Meynungen wollen in diesen Punkten nicht hinlänglich seyn sondern da müssen ausdrückliche Befehle von Gott oder Christo ausgesprochen seyn / wie ein ausdrücklicher Befehl vom Beschneiden der Hebräerischen Kinder da ist.

3. Von des Herrn Abendmal glaube ich / daß es nur vor die erwählte Jünger Christi / die mit Verläugnung alles Weltlichen Wesens / Christo Jesu in der That und Wahrheit nachfolgen / eingesetzt sey / und der Bund Gottes sehr geschmähet / und sein Gorn über die ganze Erde gereiset wird / wann die Gottlosen Weltkinder zu dem Trübsamthum des Herrn hinzugelassen werden / wie es heutiges Tages leider! geschiehet.

4. Von der Vollkommenheit glaube ich / daß / ob ich schon im sündlichen Saamen gezeuget und gebohren bin / ich dennoch durch Christus

speaks (John 17: 3): and that I may explain myself in few words about this: I profess with mouth and heart the well known old Ausselic Creed, *Credo in Deum*, etc.

2. Concerning baptism, I believe that Christ instituted it only for the grown up and not for the little children, because one cannot find an iota of an express command about it in the whole holy Scripture; for arguments and good opinions cannot be sufficient (hung together) on these points, but there must be express commands, expressed by God or Christ, as there is an express command about the circumcision of the Israelite children.

3. Concerning the Lord's Supper, I believe that it is instituted for the chosen disciples of Christ, who by the renunciation of all worldly things, follow Christ Jesus in deed and truth; and that the covenant of God will be much reviled and his anger inflamed over the whole community, if the Godless children of the world are admitted to the love feast, as, unfortunately! is done at the present time.

4. Concerning perfection (the full coming of the Spirit), I believe that although I have been conceived and born in sinful seed, yet that I may be sanctified through Jesus Christ, not only justly but perfectly, so that no more sin may remain in me, when I shall have come to complete manhood in Christ. But I do not yet boast of having attained perfection, but I acknowledge with Paul that I am striving to attain it with all earnestness and zeal and am consecrating myself to God and the Lamb to his complete service; but that it is possible for one to become perfect is to be proved from the Holy Scripture on all pages: but

this time I will only cite one very clear proverb (Heb. 7: 25), in the version of Piscator. He can therefore also make those perfectly blessed, who come to God through him, who is ever living to intercede for them. It is surely not enough, that a great redemption should be done for me through Christ, but this redemption from sin, death, devil and hell must be effected within the soul by the Son of the living God and by his loving and faithful mediatorship, so that not only that which is prophetic, high-priestly, but also that which is kingly must distinguish itself in the soul even to the attainment of the perfect likeness of God and Christ and thus take a spiritual form within us, and if this does not take place actively in the soul through Christ in life-time one cannot attain to the contemplation of God, for without this sanctification no one will see God; for whoever hopes to see God must purify himself, as he too is pure (1 John 3: 3).

5. Concerning the sacrament of the Holy Ghost I believe that Christ alone, who is the head of the church, can appoint teachers and preachers and give them the qualification for it. And no being but only Christ, risen above all heavens and fulfilling everything, has appointed some apostles, some however prophets, some evangelists, some pastors (flock-keepers) and teachers, so that the saints may be fitted for the work of the ministry. Ephesians 4: 10, 11, Acts 20: 28 state expressly that the Holy Ghost (N. B. and not man) had made them bishops to pasture the congregation of God, which he has purchased with his own blood.

6. Concerning high power. I believe that it is a divine ordinance, to which I willingly submit in all

civil matters according to the teachings of Paul (Romans 13: 1, 7). On the other hand, however, with all true evangelical (believers) I accord no power to those who struggle against God's Word and my conscience or the freedom of Christ: for it is said: We ought to obey God, etc. (Acts 5: 29), and if anything should be charged against God and my conscience I should rather suffer unjust force than act contrary to this and I pray that God may not put it to the account of those magistrates, but may convert them; but I further declare that in reference to the *essentia Magistratus Politici* (essential political powers) that it is not a Christ: for the Turk at Constantinople and the Pope at Rome are also true magistrates in the realm of nature, but they are not Christians for this reason; for where a magistracy shall receive the venerable predicate Christian from me, I must feel in it that it has the Spirit of Christ, or else I say with Saint Paul (Romans 8: 9), Whoever has not the Spirit of Christ is not his and therefore not a Christian power; but I consider and regard them as heathen powers, who however will soon have reached their time, for I have been infallibly convinced from God's Word that the glorious Christ sitting at the Father's right hand will soon break in and will thrust all the heathen powers from their seat and according to the prophecy of Holy Mary will raise the lowly, for the sceptre of Christ will destroy and break to pieces all other animal kingdoms (Dan. 2: 44). Indeed the Lamb will conquer the beast and its horns, as is stated distinctly (Apoc. 17: 14). These will quarrel with the Lamb and the Lamb will conquer them; for it is the Lord of all lords and the King of all kings and

with it the called and chosen and the believers; and now because the Kingdom of Christ is so near at hand, I confess that I as a spiritual statistician have learned from God's Word to reflect more upon the rising sun of justice than upon the high powers of the world soon to depart; for that will last into the eternity of eternities, but these will soon have reached their limit (periodum), by the great impending judgments of God.

7. Finally, as concerns the restoration (redemption) of damned men I do not see how this is the place to carry it out, since it demands a circumstantial deduction, if it is to be understood distinctly and clearly; I will only here add very briefly that as in Adam all men have fallen, so also must all men be born again, through the other Adam, Jesus Christ; if this were not so, it would necessarily follow that Christ were not powerful enough to restore the human race which was lost through Adam and in this connection the chapter of the Epistle to the Romans can be read and from this may be seen how the restoration in the mediatorship of Christ has been much stronger and more mighty than the fall of sin in Adam. 1 Cor. 15: 22 is stated explicitly: For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But, as has been mentioned, this matter (*materia*) can not possibly be carried out in accordance with its dignity, but it demands a word-of-mouth deliverance, if all the objections and doubts occurring herewith are to be explained from the Word of God.

And since these are the most important points, which at the present day are questions of controversy, I wished to draw them up in short form herewith

after which the Gospel is once again to be preached in a powerful way to all nations, and the earth will become filled with the knowledge of the Lord. The work was written the year of the author's death.

It will be seen from this that Valentine Mack was a man of considerable ability, and in religious zeal a type of the life his father had to contend against all his days. It is to be noted that it was not until the death of his father that the young man and his wife were drawn to Ephrata.

Concerning John Mack little is known. He was a member of the church in the "Antitum" region, in the Cumberland Valley, where he stoutly resisted the introduction of Seventh Day influences and where he died, loyal to his religion.

Alexander Mack was the author of *A Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God*, and of answers to *Gruber's Thirty-Nine Questions*. Both works were published at Schwarzenau in 1713. The immediate occasion of their composition is to be found in the fact that at Schwarzenau a large number of Separatists and others sought to enter the congregation without becoming subject to the ordinances of the church. "The good Alexander Mack felt constrained to write a little tract, in which he showed them that each tribe must hold its own standard."⁽¹⁾

When Mack came to America in 1729 he found a sad state of affairs. The Germantown and Coventry

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 50.



Gravestone of Alexander Mack.

was especially anxious to secure tall, strong men for his own body or life guard.

John Naas was just such a man. He was a head taller than any other person in the community, and was possessed of a stout, athletic constitution, combined with such grace and nobleness of demeanor as almost to strike a stranger with awe. Priesz, on the contrary, was a small, feeble man.

One day they met the king's recruiting officers, whereupon Naas was seized and urged to enlist. He refused. They tortured him to compel him to submit. These tortures consisted of pinching, thumb-screwing, etc. But he steadfastly refused. They then hung him up with a heavy cord by his left thumb and right great toe, in which painful and ignominious position they meant to leave him suspended until he should yield to their demands.

This did not cause him to consent, and, fearing that they would kill him if they longer continued their barbarous torture, they cut him down and dragged him by force into the presence of the king.

They explained to the king what they had done and told the king how resolutely and stubbornly he withstood their efforts to enlist him. The king eyed Elder Naas closely and said, "Why, yes! we would much like to have him. Tell me why you refuse to enlist."

"Because," answered the noble Christian, "I cannot,

as I have long ago enlisted in the noblest and best army; and I cannot become a traitor to my King."

"And who is your captain?" asked the king.

"My Captain," answered he, "is the great Prince Immanuel, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have espoused his cause, and cannot and will not forsake him."

"Neither will I then ask you to do so," answered the noble ruler, handing him a gold coin as a reward for his fidelity. The king then released him.

It may be of interest to know that the historic Rhine was the scene of a remarkable baptism. The record of the event is found in the printed "*Apology*"⁽¹⁾ of Alexander Mack, Jr., in which, as the title in full reveals, a defense of trine immersion is made. He adds personal testimony as follows:

"I have to testify before God that in these cold, Western countries, in the short time of my pilgrimage here, over a thousand people, of various natures, have been baptized by immersion, and, indeed, many of them in the cold winter. I have not heard of a single one that had caused to him the least harm or affliction to the health of his body. On the contrary, conscientious men bear testimony that they had had infirmities and lost them through the Word in water baptism.

"I shall relate only one example from among a

(1) *Apology, / or a Scriptural Answer / of Certain Truths / Brought about by a recently published Article, under the name / the / Refuted Anabaptist. / In a Dialogue / written for the Common People. / The whole conversation, word for word, / is given in these pages, and the / Apology / as an answer to the Perverted Truth / added by / Theophilus (Alexander Mack) / Ephrata / Published at the Expense of the Brethren in the year 1788.*

large number. Something more than 66 years ago (hence before 1722), there was in Europe in Chur Pfaltz in Rheindecken, in a little village close to the Rhine, not far from Mannheim, a sister who had long been sick and bedfast so that her friends did not believe that she could get well.

"It now pleased Providence to let it so happen that a teacher of Anabaptism, by the name of John Naas, came to visit some friends at this place. He dwelt with godly conversation in order to edify the friends gathered there, and at the same place where the sick sister was, so that she would be able to hear with them. In this way he caused the sick woman to give ear; and she made known how that she had a strong desire to be baptized after the manner of the early Christians.

"Her friends that were present made objections and expressed their doubt of the advisability of attempting such a thing, because she was so very weak that she could not be taken to the Rhine; and even if she could be gotten there with a great deal of trouble and pain, she might die in the hands of the baptizer, which would be the cause of a great wrong.

"John Naas, however, went to the sick woman's bed, spoke with her and said: 'Have you faith (do you believe) that this work of the Lord can yet be performed to your sick body?' She answered, 'Yes.' Thereupon he said, 'I also believe it, so let it be undertaken with thee.'

"At this the friends withdrew their objections and made preparations to satisfy the sister and her faith. They took her up, dressed her for baptism, and led or carried her by both arms, with much suffering,

into the Rhine. There she knelt down in the name of Jesus and was by John Naas immersed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. After this there was the laying on of hands, and prayer offered over her, and she was healed. She went up out of the water with great rejoicing before all the others, and when she came home she ministered to them."

Alexander Mack also held Brother Naas in high esteem and urged him to come to America, forget the unfortunate affair at Creyfelt, and join heartily in the Lord's work in America. Glad to be near those of like precious faith and parting with his children and grandchildren, accompanied by his wife and one daughter, he sailed on the brigantine *Pennsylvania Merchant*, John Stedman, Master, from Rotterdam, touching at Plymouth, and landing in Philadelphia in September, 1733. They qualified September 18, 1733.⁽¹⁾

This voyage was so characteristic of the dangers and trials that beset the early Brethren on the Atlantic that a record of it at length will be found not only of interest in his own case, but as typical of the experience of all the members who braved the sea to find a refuge in the peaceful Province of William Penn.

Through the research of Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, late of the University of Pennsylvania, we have been

(1) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 89.

The 24th of June we went from Rotterdam to within half an hour's distance from Dort, where we lay still, the wind being contrary. On July 3rd we started and the ship was drawn by men several times on the river Maas, as far as the neighborhood of Helvoetsluys. There the wind became favorable so that we sailed into the sea on July 5th, near Helvoetsluys. Then the seasickness began among the people, that is, dizziness and vomiting. The greatest number after having vomited could begin to eat again.

On the 13th of July, early in the morning, we arrived in the port of Plymouth, which port lies in the midst of rocks. We had to lie in the middle of the harbor until the ship was released by the custom officers and provisioned.

On July 21st we sailed into the big ocean and on our left we lost the land, France and Spain. The 24th we also lost it on our right, namely England. The 25th a little child died. It came upon the ship very sick; the next day about 8 o'clock it was buried in the sea. When the body fell from the plank into the water I saw with great astonishment that a large number of big fish appeared and darted quickly away in front of the ship, as if they wished to flee from the corpse.

For ten days we had steadily a good breeze, so that we sailed a long way on the big ocean.

The 28th of July, before daylight, a French man-of-war by the name of *Elizabeth*, came near us. This Captain examined our Captain in French. After having made themselves known to each other, they wished one another a happy trip and each went on his course.

very strong; however, it lasted forty-eight hours, so that all the sails had to be reefed, the rudder fastened, and the portholes boarded up, so that we were sitting in darkness, while the force of the waves struck through the porthole glass into the beds. Some people always have to vomit during every storm and strong, stiff winds.

On the 13th again a little boy was born. The 17th we had another storm, which was much stronger than the first for six or eight hours and blew the sea very high up. It lasted for one and one-half days and one and one-half nights, but towards the end was not so strong. Sails, rudder, holes, everything was hurriedly fastened up and left to wind and sea. After that it grew so calm that we did not get much from the spot during several days. During this time the people got well again from dizziness and vomiting. Then we got again strong wind from the side by which we made good headway.

On the 23rd of August again a child died and was buried at sea that evening.

The 26th, about 5 o'clock P. M., we passed by a mast standing fast, the point of which showed a half yard above the water, quite immovable and with ends of rope still on it. By good fortune our ship passed it at about a rod's distance. The Captain had just been drinking tea. Many people were very much frightened by this sight, because it was impossible for this mast to be standing on the bottom and it yet was immovable.

The 30th, the last mentioned man again lost a child and it was buried at sea that night. Then we

before and now the third the one just born, so that the husband has no one left now.

On the 16th in the morning about four o'clock a woman fifty years of age died; she had not been well during the entire trip and always repented having left her native place. She was buried at sea that same day.

And since the trip owing to the many changes of wind had lasted somewhat long and the greater number of the people had all consumed their provisions and their conception (imagination or expectation) was always set upon six weeks from land to land, they had gone on eating and drinking hard, from morning until late at night. Then at last they found it a great hardship to live on the ship's fare alone; thus the greater number so entirely lost courage that they never expected to get on land again.

On the 17th a small landbird, which they call the little yellow wag-tail in Germany, perched down several times on our ship, that the people could have a good look at him. This caused great rejoicing among them, that they clapped their hands with joy.

On the 18th a ship from Rhode Island came up to us. It had a cargo of sheep and other things, in order to sail to the West Indies, which our Captain spoke through a speaking tube; after they had made their arrangements they reefed their sails on both the ships, since there was but little running anyhow and our Captain had a boat lowered into the water and rowed with four seamen to their ship. When they had drunk the welcome together, he returned and brought with him half a bag of apples, a goose, a duck, and two chickens and distributed the beauti-

were hastily boarded up, the rudder bound fast, and the ship was, with a very lowly-reefed sail set sideways to the wind, so that it should not roll so hard on both sides. The storm lasted the entire night with great violence, so that without any fear one could well see that it was not alone the seaworthiness of the ship that it could weather such powerful blows, but that it was preserved in the Almighty hand of the Lord, in order to make known to man his might.

To him be above all and for all the glory, Amen.

Not a human being remained on deck, but one sailor who was tied fast in order to watch by the rudder; all the rest, the Captain, the mates, the seamen crawled into their beds in their wet clothes, and the ship lay sideways to the wind always on its side so that it drew water all the time, which however, poured out again. At midnight the waves struck so hard against the portholes aft, that two boards sprang away from the windows where part of the people lay in sleep and slumber, and the water rushed in through the window, as big as it was, and straight into the beds, which caused a great terror to those who lay near the window. The water took away a board together with the rope; we all sprang up because the friends who lay near the window had not tied the board fast enough and the misfortune might have become a very great one. We took a woolbag, which was handy, and stopped the window up and the other one with the board, that was made fast again.

The ship's carpenter the next morning made a new window board. The storm also abated a little and thus the anxiety of the people grew a little less and

towards two o'clock in the afternoon it cleared, the wind ceased, and the portholes in the ship were opened, and it was beautifully calm weather. Then the Captain quickly ordered a kettle of rice to be boiled, in order that the people might get something warm to eat that day and night for their supper.

The 22nd at noon the ship lay as still as a house, then the people dried their clothes again. A good breeze sprang up at dinner time and blew all night, so stiff and so steady that one did not know in the ship that it was moving and yet made two miles and a half in one hour. At midnight the first soundings were made, 150 rods deep, and no bottom found.

The 23rd at nine o'clock another sounding was made and at 55 rods ground was struck, at eleven o'clock at 35 rods; shortly after, 20 rods; and yet we did not see any land, but were nearing the river [Delaware]. Then the people became very joyful on account of the good breeze and the ground being found. But the Captain did not trust himself to reach the river by daylight; since one could not see any land even, and at four o'clock in good wind he reefed the sails, and had the rudder tied fast, because there are many sandbanks in front and inside of the river.

Early in the morning all sails were set again and we headed for the river although the breeze was not very favorable and there was a heavy fog. Then again they made soundings and found 15 rods, and an hour later 7 rods. At twelve o'clock we saw the land with great rejoicing. Towards half past four we neared the river, for one is still six hours away from it when one gets in sight of it. Meanwhile, I and

had very little wind we had to sail mostly with the tide or with the current of the water, therefore we sailed during the 28th, and on the afternoon of the 29th we arrived safely in Philadelphia.

We were met by brethren and sisters in small boats who brought us fine bread, apples, peaches and other refreshments of the body, for which we gave thanks to the Highest publicly on the ship near the city, with singing and ringing shouts of delight. With many tears we praised and glorified the Lord for having preserved us in his Father's hand, and having carried us as on the wings of the eagle so that we all could meet again in love on this side of Eternity. See, dear children, brethren and friends, this is in short the description of our journey across the very big sea.

If I were to relate everything how things went with the people on the ship, there could be much more to write and it grieves my heart, when I remember that I so often told them when on the ship, I did not think that with all the unclean spirits of Hell there could be worse going on with cursing, swearing, blaspheming and beating [fighting], with over eating and drinking, quarreling day and night, during storm and weather, that the Captain often said he had taken many people over to this country already but had in all his days never yet seen anything like this.

He thought they must have been possessed by the demons [devils]. Therefore they made such a good picture of Hell, although to us they were all very kind, friendly and helpful and they held us all in great fear. The Captain often threatened he would order some of them to be bound to the mast and to

be whipped by his sailors from head to foot, still they remained bad.

Now I will report some more experiences in regard to the great danger and hardships of the journey to Pennsylvania.

The danger of this journey is this; if God should be against one and were willing to work His revenge and justice against us, no one, of course, could escape from him, as little as on land. Another danger would be if one went in an old bad ship upon the big sea, or with a ship master who was a tyrant or ignorant of sailing. But, if the Lord is not against us, which must first be settled, and one has a good ship and good sailors then the danger is not half so great as one imagines it. The Lord sustains Earth and Sea and one in and on the other, therefore also the vessels upon the sea and those who have gone up on high or down into the deep, and the eternal Jehovah has rescued them, they all shall come to him and shall praise the name of the Lord who does great wonders to the children of men.

The hardships, however, of this journey consist of many kinds and things; but for myself I have not to say of many, on the contrary of but few hardships on this trip; but others have seen and experienced a great deal, especially firstly when people start on this trip who are not obliged to enter upon so great a journey.

Secondly, when people start this enterprise without any reason, and sufficient deliberation and for the sake of material purposes.

Thirdly, when people break up to move and especially married people when they are not fully

where the people are at all well off, that do not have one or two such children in them. The matter is made legal at the city hall with great earnestness. There parents and children often will be separated 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 hours [in distance] and for many young people it is very good that they cannot pay their own freight. These will sooner be provided for than those who have paid theirs and they can have their bread with others and soon learn the ways of the country.

I will make an end of this and wish patience to whomsoever reads this. God be with you all, Amen.

JOHANNES NAAS.

N. B.—Now beloved children what more shall I write? It might perhaps arrange itself that you should come over here, then the writing would have an end, but if you do not come I shall some other time know more to write. Therefore, I will close for this time and commend you all with your dear children to the infinite love of God, who may lead and guide you himself that you do not enter upon the path of the sinners and do not sit where the scoffers sit, for that would not be good for you.

The acquaintances, Brother Settlers, outside of Gundrich, are in eternity; the others send hearty greetings: Brother Becker, Brothers Gantz, Gomrey, Ritter, Paul, sen., with Brother Mack, the old and the young Zeiglers, and his people, all send greetings and many other brethren and sisters who do not know you, and whom you do not know—all greet very heartily those who fear the Lord at Crefelt.

Your in-love-faithfully-united father,

JOHN NAAS.

under Beissel and the church. Beissel knew of their coming, but was absent in the Tulpehocken country, and did not return to meet the Brethren. The purpose of this visit was thus thwarted, although the members at Ephrata received them kindly. "Among the visitors (from Germantown) was an old and venerable preacher, who had but recently come from Germany; his name was Naas."⁽¹⁾

Brother Naas was favorably impressed with much that he saw at Ephrata, especially the beautiful way of child-training, and the quiet life in the houses. He afterwards met Beissel for whom he seems to have cherished a kindly regard till his death.

At Amwell Brother Naas was visited by George Adam Martin, who says, "I was much edified by his conversation, and pleased and surprised at his great and sound mind, and the gifts which God had bestowed upon him."⁽²⁾

He was survived by his widow and children.⁽³⁾ In 1755, 12th of the 8th month, Conrad Beissel wrote from Ephrata to Jacob Mohr, Sr., at Amwell, and in this letter he says, "Should I not also remember the beloved aged Sister Naas, who is still written in my holy book of remembrance? Oh! how glad I would be could I once more behold her face. I have to report to the same sister that the love, which I bear

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 91-92.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 249.

(3) His daughter, Elizabeth, married Hannes Landes, of the Conestoga congregation.

5. Eating, drinking, banqueting, dancing, playing, living always after the flesh,—can one enter into Heaven thus? Then woe unto the pious, scarcely shall they prosper!

6. Little do men care now for lying! What is more common than deceiving? Just as if it were an honored art! He who is in the right must be a loser. Men honor false affairs. It is money and favor that hold sway now.

7. How common is cursing, swearing, and terrible blaspheming against God, the Lord. Do not the children understand this a little? Therefore no wonder that men should be destroyed, that young and old should die in their sins and go down into hell.

8. To injure the honor of his neighbor, to persecute him, and to envy him is not this the common course? One informs against another, whatever he thinks he says of him; do not the most of the people thus?

9. What more do men pretend to care for, than to strive with all power after vain wealth and money, gold and silver, great treasures which destroy the souls of men. But this is what the whole world seeks and loves.

10. Those who possess these strange goods shall suffer grievously on account of them eternally in hell-fire. Although many know this, and their wicked consciences condemn them, yet they do not leave off from them.

11. He who strives rightfully after virtue, remains constant and faithful and endeavors to please God, he will be mocked at and derided by all. One sees this happen every day without any fear or hesitation.

12. Oh, thou child of man, turn thee! behold how

Melody.—The Bride of the Soul.

1. Savior of my soul grant that I choose Thee and Thy cross in this life, and that I may surrender myself wholly to Thee. Grant that I choose this, Savior of my soul.

2. Then is my soul led to the light; Thy whole blessed life went through many tribulations, through the way of sorrows: through this shall I also come to the true light.

3. Reach me Thy hand, I am not able to follow Thee rightly, Oh Jesus, without the balm of Thy soul. Therefore reach Thy hand to him who cannot stand.

4. Oh Lord, Jesus Christ, how is Thy light, so far away in these dark times; send me Thy light, send me Thy light, Oh Lord, Jesus Christ.

5. I am encompassed about by the spirit of the world, which knows well how to cunningly disguise itself as an angel of light. Save me, Thy child, from this base rabble.

6. Oh Jesus, look within, that Thy spirit alone may rule my whole life, willing to go with Thee in death, because time passes away and nothing shall remain.

7. Jesus, Thou, the Word, remainest forever and ever; through Thee is everything created. What Heaven and earth embraces, all shall pass away; but Thou alone shalt remain forever.

8. Ah, grant me grace that I may follow Thy path with a lengthening of mine, and endure all in Thee. Send me grace that it may guide me.

9. Alas, I am ashamed of myself when I consider Thee, how Thou hast suffered for me, and hast overcome the world, the devil, and death. I am ashamed when I consider Thee.

3. Christian Libe.

By a strange coincidence a man who never saw America is directly responsible for the organization of the first congregation in America, on Christmas day, 1723. That man was Christian Libe, a native of Epstein, Germany. He was early united with the church of the Brethren and called to preach the Gospel to the Brethren in the Marienborn district; Abraham Duboy, of the same place, being his assistant.

Persecution in this part of Germany drove the members to Creyfelt. But Elder Libe became a missionary to the persecuted Germans and Swiss. Christian Libe was an eloquent, gifted evangelist, and his voice was heard all along the Rhine Valley in defense of the faith he loved. He pressed into Switzerland and boldly preached the religion he loved in the city of Basle. He was arrested and asked to renounce his faith. This he refused to do.

He was sent to the galleys, and had to work the galling oars by the side of criminals, for two years. He was then ransomed and came to Creyfelt, where he was under the senior eldership of John Naas. This was about 1722.

Here he was active in the work of the Lord and preached the most eloquent sermons. But his zeal, like that of many others was not born of knowledge, and he was intolerant and oppressive. His action in the Häcker case has been already noted. He began to antagonize and provoke Elder Naas, and

at a church council an open rupture occurred.⁽¹⁾ It is to be inferred that Libe's popularity was such in this case that he was able to win the congregation to himself, and Elder Naas withdrew from the Creyfelt congregation. That Brother Naas did not hold resentment is shown by the fact that when, in 1733, he wrote to his son who was at Creyfelt, he sent his Christian and brotherly greeting to Brother Libe.

In August, 1723, news came to the scattered Brethren in Pennsylvania that Christian Libe had arrived in Philadelphia. People from the Schuylkill region came to Germantown to hear him preach. Some came as many as forty miles to hear the widely-celebrated preacher. Libe was not in America, but Peter Becker invited these men and women to the meeting of the Brethren and taught them the doctrines of the church. They returned, and then the Brethren at Germantown went up to Martin Urner's place on the Schuylkill and six persons applied for baptism. Their request was granted on Christmas Day. So it was the influence of Christian Libe's preaching that brought the first converts to the church in America, and that led to the organization of the Germantown congregation.

Christian Libe's eldership at Creyfelt was not successful. His zeal waned, the congregation languished,

(1) See page 49.

persecution began to be felt, members were cast into dungeons, and the membership removed or fell away. Elder Libe became a merchant, and eventually a wine merchant, and at last, in violation of his own principle, as announced in the Häcker case, he married out of the congregation. Thus the most flourishing German congregation, and the most eloquent evangelist alike passed away.

4. Stephen Koch.

Among the Creyfelt members who came with Peter Becker to Germantown in 1719, no one affords a better illustration of the mystical influences that saddened and retarded the growth of the church than Stephen Koch.

Before 1715, he was a minister at Creyfelt, but not an ordained elder. With the more consecrated element of the congregation he engaged in active evangelistic work, traveled much, preached fearlessly, lived nobly. When he came to America, he allowed the spirit to decline. In 1723, he was at the first love feast, a humble member; but the collected membership chose Becker to conduct the services. Whether this in any way affected the zeal of Brother Koch is not known. Perhaps he already had developed such traits of mysticism as to render his leadership unwise. At all events, the Ephrata community had a charm for him.

In August, 1726, the Brethren at Germantown

he began to have ecstatic visions, one of which he reported to John Lobach at Creyfelt who published it in *Geistliche Fama*. It was reprinted by Christoph Saur in 1748⁽¹⁾ and is here given in full.

Stephen Koch's Vision.⁽²⁾

"Saturday, December 9, 1732, &c. When I awoke early in the morning before daylight, I was much depressed in mind as I considered the uncertainty of this miserable life, and how it is surrounded with so much unrest and so forth. These thoughts moved me to deep sighs and longing for eternal rest and happiness. During this meditation and yearning for rest I was transported out of myself, and it appeared to me that I found myself on a journey to some one, to whom I would have to come that same day. On the way I strayed and lost myself. While I was yet looking about me, there came up to me a beautiful man, the like of whom I had never seen in this world. When he came near me he inquired how I had come there. I said: I was to have visited a sick man and lost my way. Then he was very friendly to me, and said if I would go with him he would take me to a more beautiful place than I had ever seen before. I said: Yes, I would come with him. Then I suddenly came to myself again. Oh God! who is that? or,

(1) Several / old and newer / stories of apparitions / of / spirits, / and something / of the / state of the soul / after Death. / Besides several / visions / of some people who are still in life. / Second enlarged edition. / Printed by Christoph Saur, / 1748. /

(2) Pp. 24-31 of above volume. The Third Vision; which Stephen Koch in Germantown had in 1732 and which he has described to his friend Johann Lobach *Messerschmitt* at Creyfelt and which has been published in print, *anno* 1736, in Germany, in the *Geistliche Fama*, XX selection.

where will it go to? But I composed myself again, and showed my willingness to go along. Then he said I should give him my hands, and should place my feet on his, and close my eyes a little while. I did so.

"Then it seemed as if in a gentle breeze we were wafted through space. And he brought me to the brink of a beautiful stream of water, which was so wide that I could not well see across it and the scenery about it was uncommonly fair and lovely and I felt so well that all the days of my life I never experienced anything like it. When I was wonderingly gazing at this beautiful, large river he asked me what sort of a water that was. I said I knew it not. He told me the name of it, but the name sounded strange to me and I could not remember it. At last he asked if I wanted to go across. I answered: Yes. Then he took hold of me as before and carried me across swiftly.

"We came into a country the beauty and loveliness of which no man can tell. Yes; I was quite astonished at all I saw and heard there. For I heard from a distance the sound of innumerable voices of people and all manner of instruments blended in such harmonies, that it sounded right lovely towards me. These words I heard: 'He is the only one to whom alone belongs the glory!' After this he brought me to a beautiful city, the streets of which were of pure gold. There I saw innumerable hosts of people, all clothed in white. I gazed at them all in wonderment, it seemed to me as if they all were swaying in space and praising God. Yes, they were floating up and down and

continually praising and glorifying Him, who lives from Eternity to Eternity. And wondering at what I heard and saw, I thought to myself, Oh! that is an eternal uprising and sinking down again in the bottomless sea of God's love! Oh, how calm! Oh, how well!

"Meanwhile he took me and carried me upon a beautiful, high mountain, and said, 'This is the Mount of Zion, the castle of David!' Then I looked about me, as far as I could see, and beheld a fair, even valley with an innumerable crowd of people, all clothed in white, floating up and down and praising the eternal and good God in an inexpressible way, and in such sweet melodies that no man can describe them. And I was quite in an ecstasy at all this, that I heard and saw. After seeing and hearing this for a while he took me back again to the before-mentioned city, and when I looked upwards I saw a wondrously shining firmament. Altogether it was incomparably beautiful and indescribably glorious and unspeakably fair.

"Since I knew no one among all these people, I sighed, Oh God! If I only could see someone that I know. Then some one came as if floating towards me and spake to me in a very friendly manner. 'Ay, where comest thou from, in thy old body and old garments?' I was frightened, and answered, This person has brought me here. He asked me if I knew him? I said, No. He said, 'I am Hochmann (who died at Schwarzenau). Behold now, here is the glorious city of God, the peaceful realm of Zion and the blessed company of the souls who are saved, of whom thou hast heard me speak before

down and praising God in beautiful harmony and in such words as a mortal tongue cannot tell. I thought: Oh! this is the unfathomable love of God, a continual uprising and down-sinking in the eternal peace of God! Oh how calm! Oh how well was it with me! I cannot tell and relate it! Meanwhile the beautiful man stood always beside me, and after all this he reminded me that I would have to leave again, which indeed grieved me; yet I resigned myself, and said: I should like to see the opposite of this blessed place; namely, the place where those go who live so wickedly and ill. He answered, 'Thou shalt see it.' And he took me as before, and brought me rapidly to a big sheet of water, which looked gloomy and miserable. The whole country appeared to me desolate. I was quite still and he said nothing.

"He also brought me across the water into a desolate country. In this neighborhood I heard pitiful howling, even so that my heart was grieved.

"After this he brought me to a city and placed me on a tower which was over the city gate. There I saw an innumerable crowd of people in clothes of many colors. The whole country seemed to be shrouded in a sort of evening twilight gloom, so that one could barely see things. I saw and heard their labor. It was unblessed and full of unrest. Their crying was incomprehensibly crazed and confused. What one made, the others would break up; and there was a continual strife and unquietness among them all. There were some who wanted to straighten out legal cases, but it only grew worse and worse, so that I became quite weary over this unblessed screaming and restless work that I saw and heard. I begged

"The deeper I searched, the more I became aware that in my deepest nature I was still lacking that true change of heart, without which the peace of God which passeth all understanding, could not reveal itself in me. From this I could well see that there was nothing else for me to do but to repent anew and be heartily converted unto God. Wherefore I constantly prayed to God, that for Jesus Christ's sake he would graciously regard me, and cleanse me from all my transgressions."⁽¹⁾

Two additional circumstances added to his mental agony. He was betrothed to a widow and the solitary life of the Pietists caused him to fear that marriage meant the loss of the highest religious experience. At the same time he suffered great physical pain from *calculi*, "so that I often lay two or three days in the greatest extremity, and had death ever before me."

From the horrors of this combination of agonies he declares he was miraculously delivered in the following manner:

"On the 3rd of May, 1735, at Germantown, as late at night I went into the orchard, it being bright moonlight, there came to me a delightful odor, partly from the blossoms of the trees, partly from the flowers in the garden, whereat I sobbing spoke to God: 'O, my God, everything is in its order and contributes to Thy glory and honor, save I alone! For I am created and called by a holy calling to love Thee above every-

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 97.

shroud which he had prepared for the occasion, and asked the family to join with him in singing Johann Arndt's beautiful hymn: "*Nun fahr ich hin mit Freuden, ins rechte Vaterland,*" etc.

After the singing he delivered a fervent prayer and, reclining on a couch, he quietly breathed his last.

6. John Henry Kalckglasser.

John Henry Kalckglasser was born in 1696. He came to the mother church at Schwarzenau. He frequently assisted Alexander Mack in the public services, although he was not an ordained elder. He was not a gifted speaker, and was much given to retirement and meditation. He married in Europe, and his wife, Agnes Margaretha, accompanied him to Germantown in 1729. They formed a part of Mack's company, from which I infer they were also exiles in Holland between 1719 and 1729.

In Germantown he purchased forty-two acres of ground⁽¹⁾ and, no doubt, engaged in farming. After the death of Alexander Mack, Kalckglasser was the oldest preacher in the congregation. This means that he was longest in the ministry. He became infatuated with the experiences of Stephen Koch and on one occasion asked Koch about his latest experiences. Stephen Koch related at length his ecstatic experiences. This greatly moved Brother Kalckglasser. He said to Koch, "O, I know your condition very

(1) Rupp's *30,000 names*, p. 473.

well, for I was in the same state a long while; but through the various occurrences one meets therein, I fell away from it again. Now I will learn anew to walk before God."⁽¹⁾

Especially was Brother Kalckglasser carried away with Koch's views on celibacy. Although he was a married man, he longed for the celibate state and in his public discourses at the Germantown meetings he delivered new and strange doctrines. He even declared he was not truly converted.

His brethren remonstrated in vain. They reminded him of his long years of service as a preacher. They recalled the many he had immersed. The power of mysticism was upon him. With others he attended meetings in the forest near Germantown. Then they walked the streets hand in hand, attracting much attention. Many of their meetings were held at night. Finally, in 1839, a company of these brethren and sisters, in all about eighteen, went to Ephrata and joined the Seventh Day Society under Beissel.

Usually when members of the German Baptist Brethren joined the Ephrataites Beissel rebaptized them. In the case of Kalckglasser, however, this was not done. "The Venerable Henry Kalckglasser, one of their (Brethren's) first teachers, was left undisturbed at Ephrata until his death in his baptism received from them." It is also true that after this

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 100.

and hence that designation was not put upon his gravestone.

John Hildebrand was an ascetic man. He even ate his bread by weight. He was much influenced by the writings of Jacob Boehm. With Beissel he had many controversies. At the time of the Zinzendorf Synods Spangenberg came to Ephrata to proselyte. Against the Moravians Hildebrand wrote a lengthy paper in which he endeavored to prove that the married state originated in the fall of man. He was a delegate to several of these synods. He was older in the spiritual life than Beissel, and felt that his experience should be counted in his favor. He was the author of at least four printed works, of 45, 44, 20 and 159 pages respectively, three of which were published by Saur in 1743. They relate to the Ephrata Society and denounce the Moravians. The fourth was published by Saur in 1747. Beissel, however, never entrusted great services to him; and, neglected, lonely, and no doubt unhappy, perhaps discontented, he passed quietly away.

8. Andreas Frey.

When Andreas Frey came to this country is not known. An Andreas Frey did come on the ship *Samuel*,⁽¹⁾ 1733. This has been by some regarded as the subject of this sketch. Such, however, is not the case.

In March, 1728, there was a revival at Falckner's Swamp. On the eighth of the month Conrad Beissel,

(1) *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. XVII, p. 75.

still in partial fellowship with the Brethren, baptized eleven persons. In May five others joined at this place. Over this congregation, at its organization this same year, Andreas Frey was made elder.

This action of Beissel's led to a controversy. The Germantown congregation went to Falckner's Swamp and held a meeting at the house of John Henry Hageman. This meeting convinced many of the new members that the Germantown Brethren were right in their opposition to the Ephrata (then called Conestoga) followers of Beissel. Among this number was Andreas Frey, the elder. A long controversy was the result. Finally it was agreed to have a meeting (council) at the house of William Frey to determine who was right.

The Ephrataites secretly sent six emissaries to Falckner's Swamp in advance of the council to prejudice the new members against the Germantown Brethren. The sequel of all this was a failure on the part of the Ephrataites to attend the council.⁽¹⁾ Andreas Frey and the members who believed with him that the Brethren from Germantown were right now declared openly against the Beissel party. Over the others Michael Wohlfurth was made elder. He soon resigned in disgrace and threw himself at Beissel's feet for mercy. Following him was Elder John Landes who held the office just six weeks.

(1) This is one of the earliest councils in the Brotherhood. Two old congregations were to meet and the new members were to be judges.

Henry Traut. He was a member at Creyfelt, and was active in the work of the church. He came with Peter Becker's party in 1719.

On the first missionary tour in America Henry Traut was a leading spirit. He was, next to Peter Becker, the leader of the members, from which fact, combined with other evidences, I am inclined to believe he was a deacon of the church. He accompanied Stephen Koch on an important mission in 1727; for an account of which see life of Koch. He lived a quiet, godly life, 'rich in deeds of love, and died Jan. 4, 1733. His loss was deeply felt by the entire congregation.

Heinrich Holsapple, George Balser Gautz, Jeremiah Traut, Balser Traut, and John Jacob Price are also among the worthies of the early church. Brother Price was an active preacher in Germany, traveling with John Naas. They were successful missionaries. Brother Price came to America with Peter Becker's party, was at the first love feast, and, in 1721, settled on a large tract of land on Indian Creek in Lower Salford Township in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

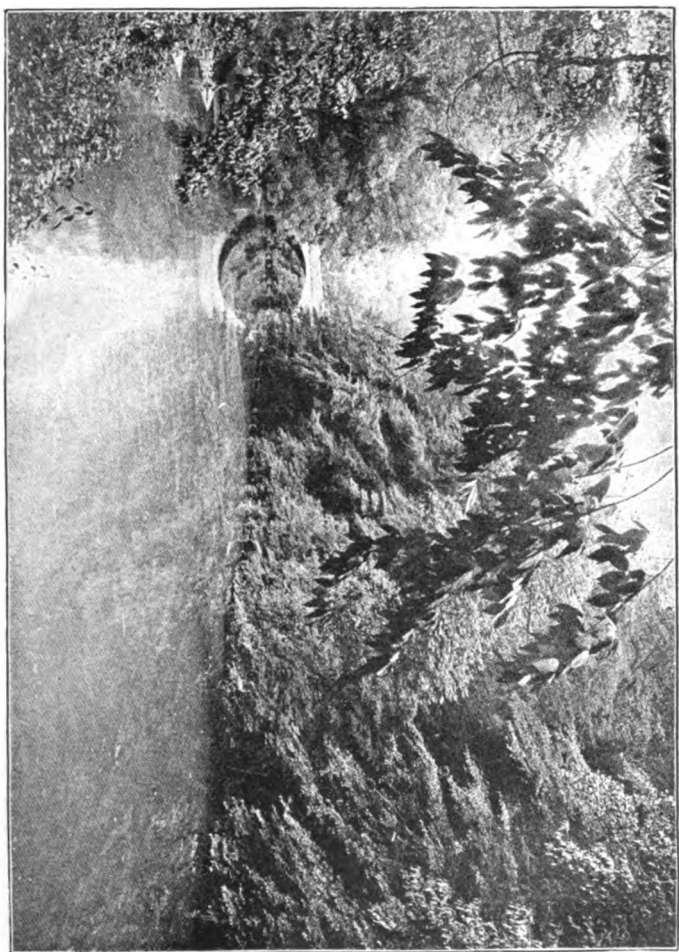
This Jacob Price is the father of all the Prices in the Brotherhood. His family has been a remarkable one. Many of them have been and are preachers of ability in the church. Their history is interwoven with the activities of the Brotherhood from its beginning. A fuller account of them will be found in subsequent chapters of this volume.

CHAPTER VII.—THE GERMANTOWN CONGREGATION.

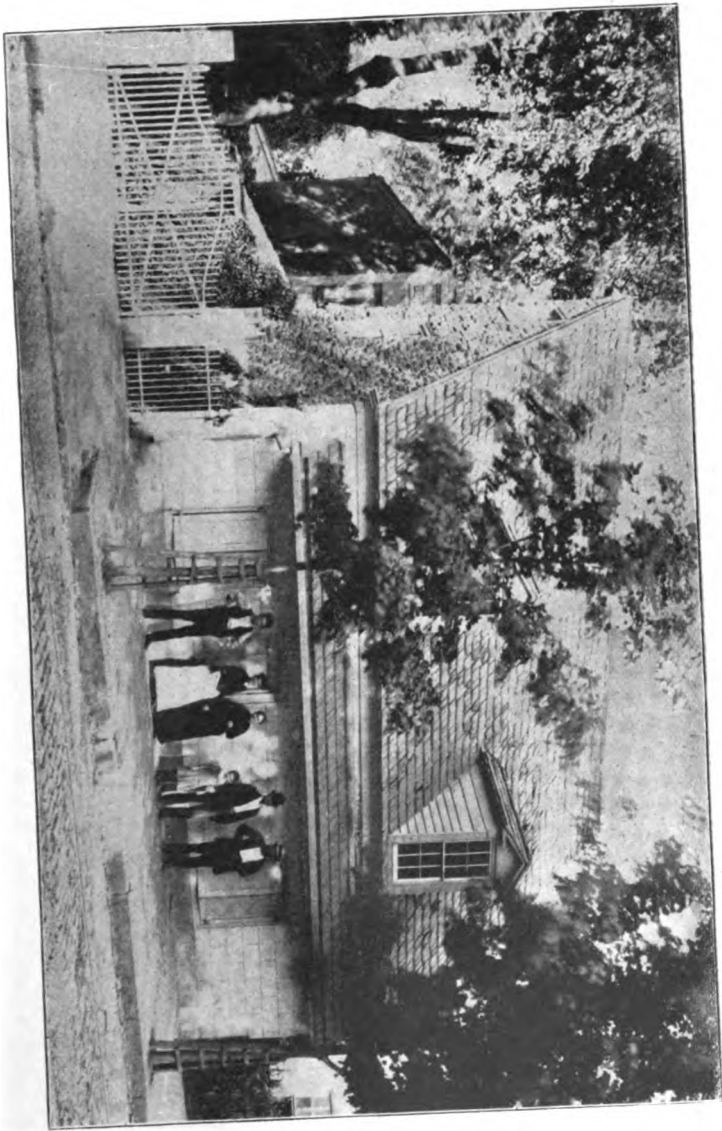
GERMANTOWN, mother congregation in America, what a history is thine!

There's a stormy voyage in 1719, a landing at Philadelphia, a procession to Germantown, a dispersion of the twenty families of German Baptist Brethren, and in 1722 a revival spirit; public preaching collects the scattered souls; in 1723, a strange thrill enraptured the membership at news of the coming of Elder Libe; people from the Schuylkill country travel to the city of Philadelphia to hear this man whose eloquence had made him famous in two continents; a meeting is held at Peter Becker's house; a missionary visit is undertaken; and six souls ask for baptism—this is the beginning of the church in America.

Doubly memorable Christmas Day, 1723! Christ's anniversary and the date of the birth of His church in America! There is an activity at Peter Becker's house in Germantown. The spindles are still; and the voice of praise is raised. Six persons, Martin Urner, his wife Catherine, Henry Landis, his wife, Frederick Lang, and John Mayle, all from what is now the Coventry district, were in the midst of seventeen members, and they were preparing to hold the first immersion in the church in America. There was no ordained minister this side of the Atlantic. The



Wissahickon Creek, Place of First Baptism.



Minister's Residence at Germantown.

fact to all men here present, especially to their neighbors. If you can bear favorable witness concerning their lives, it is well, and we can baptize them with the greater assurance; but if you have any complaints to bring against them, we will not do it." This is the first recorded instance of a practice honored by the Brethren to this day. It evidently dates to the beginning in Germany. This is the beginning of the church in Lancaster County. Since the distance was so great, the Germantown members advised these to select a preacher and form a separate congregation. Conrad Beissel was chosen. Then the kiss of peace was given and the Brethren returned to Germantown.

From 1722 to 1732 the meetings were held in the homes of the members—generally at Becker's, Gomorry's, Gantz's, Traut's, or Kalckglasser's.

When Mack came in 1729 the number of members was so increased that it was difficult to find a house large enough for the meetings.

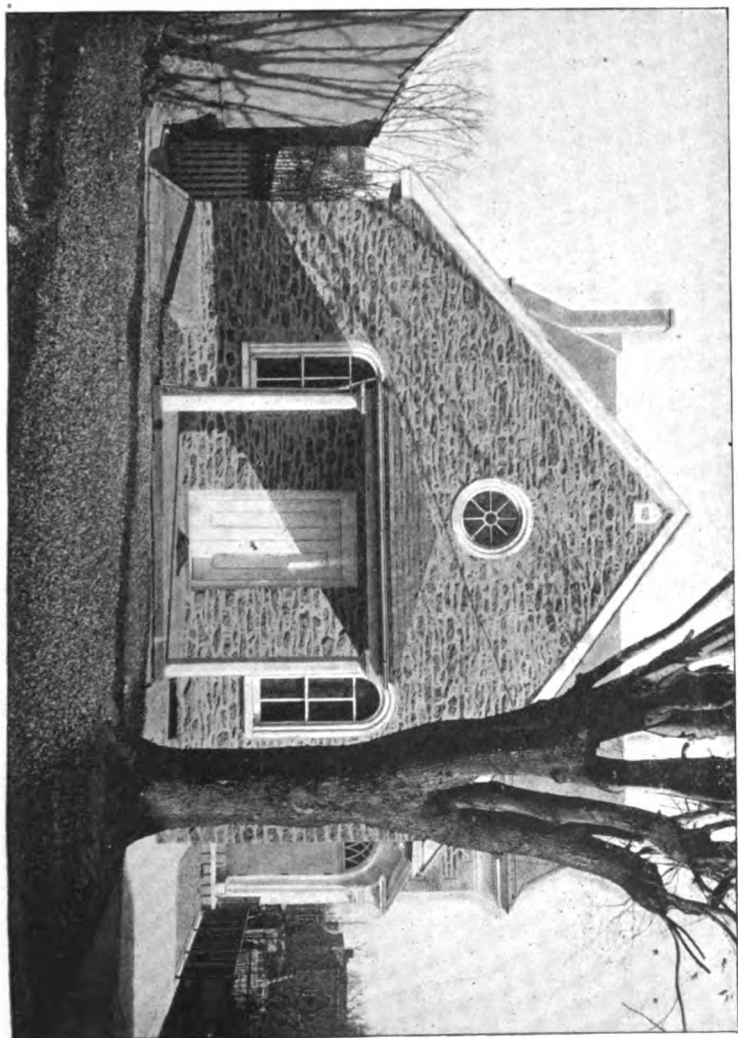
In 1732 Christoph Saur, the printer, erected where No. 4653 Germantown Avenue now is, a commodious house, 60x60 feet.

The second story of this house was constructed with partitions hinged to the joist so that when necessity required, they could be swung open and a large audience room was secured. Here the Brethren worshiped until 1760, when the second Christoph Saur was an elder of the church. His increasing

family and growing business demanded all the room in the house, and obliged the Brethren to arrange for another place of meeting.

Among the Brethren was one named John Pettikoffer. He is said to have been a poor man. Brother Peter Schilbert gave him a half acre of ground upon which to erect a house. Pettikoffer begged the money for the erection of a house on this ground, which was nearly two miles above what was then Germantown. Because of this begging historians say the town was named Beggarstown (*Bettel Hausen*). In 1739, Pettikoffer and his wife removed to Ephrata, where his wife died in 1748, and where he died in 1769 (September 11). It was a long while before Peter Schilbert could gain possession of the ground he had given to Pettikoffer. But it was finally his and by deed dated August 12, 1760, Peter Schilbert donated to Christopher Sower, Alexander Mack, Peter Leibert, and George Schreiber, the Pettikoffer house, and eighty rods of ground for a burial place, in trust for the German Baptist Brethren's church of Germantown forever.

The house was remodeled, the partitions were removed, and here the Brethren worshiped until 1770. when the increased membership required a larger house. At the rear of the Pettikoffer house a substantial stone meetinghouse was begun and completed in the same year, and was dedicated before July 1. For the erection of this house the members them-



Westinghouse of the Graham, Germantown, Pa.

name the title temporarily rested. Finally the representations of the members availed and the building was spared, although the yard about it was occupied by the cavalry in the Germantown battle.

When the meetinghouse was occupied in 1770, the old Pettikoffer house became an old folks' home, in which the poor of the congregation were sheltered, clothed, and fed at the expense of the congregation. This is no doubt the oldest home for the poor established by the Brotherhood.

The ground for a cemetery was not so used until the yellow fever scourge swept Philadelphia. Then the Brethren mercifully opened their grounds for burials. This was in 1793. There was need of more ground and the congregation purchased for 430 pounds sterling the adjoining lot, on which was an old log hut, once the Weaver residence, and a good dwelling house,—now the parsonage, 6611 Germantown Avenue. Half the purchase money was paid by voluntary subscriptions in 1793, and the remainder on April 1, 1805.

Among the quite early ministers and deacons of this congregation are the following:

Peter Becker,.....	1724-1758
Alexander Mack,.....	1729-1735
Alexander Mack, Jr.,.....	1748-1803
Christopher Sower,	1748-1784
Henry Kalckglässer,.....	1724-1739
Stephen Koch,	1724-1739
John Hildebrand,.....	1724-1739

and give to whomsoever they found to be in need. On Jan. 31, 1748, the amount so taken was 11s.; on July 24, of the same year, 12s.; on Oct. 2, 12s. 6d, and on Nov. 12, 11s. In this quiet way the ministers were able to add comfort of a material as well as of a spiritual sort to those they found in need. This is practical, helpful Christianity. Do we as fully perform our duty to-day? On June 2, 1748, Sister Maria Stoltz was in need of a Testament, and she was given 4s. 6d. to purchase one. Again on Nov. 26, 1748, "to Christina for her little boy's shoes, 4s." The next year this same sister was given £1, 15s. for her house rent, June 11, and again on Sept. 3, for the same purpose.

I find also such entries as the following taken at random:

Jan. 12, 1752, To a poor woman whose child burnt itself.....	7s. 6d.
Nov. 18, 1752, To widows for meal (rye flour).....	17s. 6d.
Aug. 29, 1758, For the coffin of Sister Charitas.....	17s.
Jan. 1, 1759, To Sister Gundis for month of January.....	12s.
Dec. 2, 1762, For wood for the meeting rooms.....	13s.
Dec. 7, 1762, To Sister Sophie for 1 cord of wood.....	£1, 8s.
July 15, 1763, Paid for the fare of Sister Sophie from Lancaster.....	16s.
Aug. 6, 1763, Paid for taking Sister Sophie back.....	15s.
April 17, 1776, To Sister Feith, 5s. in money and some sugar and coffee	7s. 8d

When the members met to hold a love feast they donated to the congregation certain sums of money to defray the expenses.

A love feast was held March 26, 1749, to which the following contributed:

Brother Gundy.....	7s. 6 d.
Sister White.....	10s.
Brother Snyder.....	1s. 6 d.
“ Schlingluff.....	2s. 3 d.
“ Gans.....	5s.
“ Schweitzer.....	3s.
“ Mack.....	1s. 6 d.
“ Weber.....	2s. 7½d.
“ Richard.....	2s.
Total.....	£1, 15s. 4½d.

For the feast there was expended:

For rice (3 lbs.).....	9s.
For flour, spice, and butter.....	1s. 6d.
For bread and rolls.....	4s. 10d.
For meat.....	15s.
Total.....	£1, 10s. 4d.

There was a meal given from this at noon and in the evening.

Deacons and Deaconesses.

Brother Henry Schlingluff was deacon before 1747. In 1761, the congregation had a council meeting and elected a second deacon. The poor-book has this entry.

Am 13 December 1761
 ist nach dem Rath der Lieb zu Germantown in der
 Gemeinschaft der Brüder, die die Engellast setzen
 in und nach der Lehre Jesu Christi zu Wohnen und
 zu Leben, in allem nach der Weise und Ordnung
 der Apostolischen Gemein der ersten Christen:
 durch Wahl ~~stimm~~ und durch das Loos zum Reme
 der armen in dieser gemein zu Germantown
 erwählt worden Bruder Georg Schreiber neben
 dem von Lohr/Highen Bruder Henrich Schlingeluff.

Election of Deacon at Germantown, 1761.

DECEMBER 13, 1761.

According to a council of love at Germantown in the community of Brethren (*Gemeinschaft der Brüder*) who have vowed to die and to live according to the doctrine of Jesus Christ and to follow in everything the manner and institutions of the apostolic congregation of the first Christians, there has been elected by vote and lot as minister to the poor of this congregation of Germantown, Brother George Schreiber, besides the formerly appointed Brother Henry Schlingluff.

But Brother Schreiber had not yet proved himself in the office. The early congregations made no haste to invest men with power and responsibility.

school. Ludwig Höcker may have been the leader of this meeting. In 1744, Christoph Saur printed a collection of 381 tickets, upon each one of which is a scriptural quotation and a stanza of religious poetry by Gerhard Tersteegen. These were evidently used in the Brethren's Sunday school. A set of these tickets in excellent condition is now in my possession.

It is well to note that Sunday Schools, Council Meetings, and an Old Folks' Home were instituted by these early Brethren.

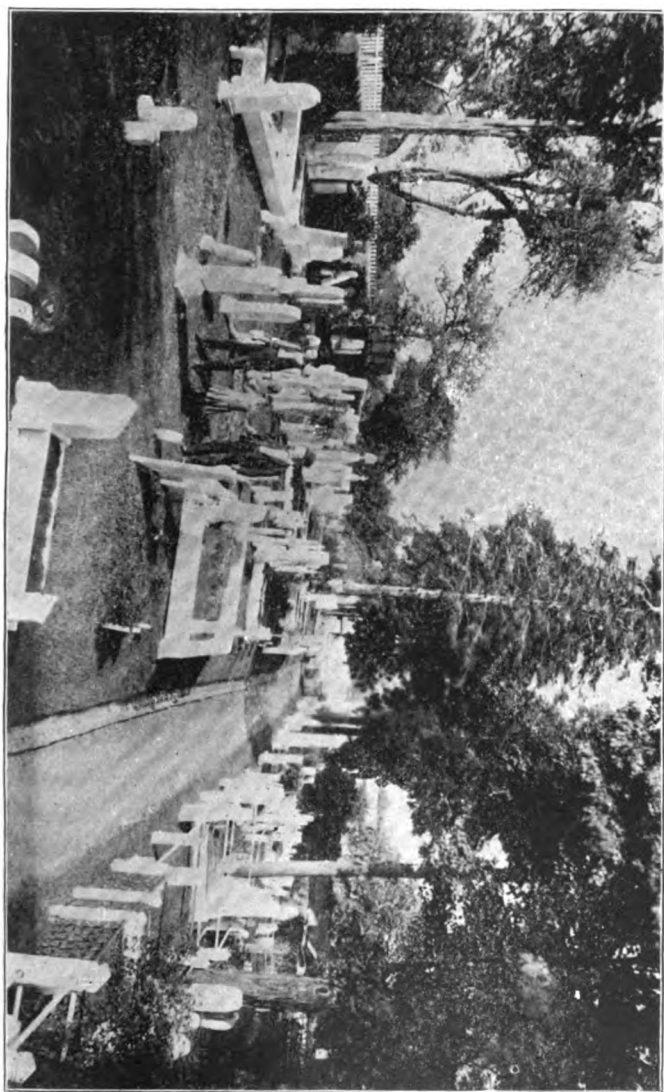
In 1761, as before stated, the place of meeting was changed to the house erected by John Pettikoffer. It stood immediately in front of the present meeting-house. The Poor Book contains this record:

"December 27, 1761. Through the Society's consideration, and decision of the Brethren, it was thought well that the money which is contributed to the box in 1762 should be expended in improving the meetinghouse. For this purpose

There was in the box	May 15,.....	£2, 11s.
" " " " "	Oct. 30,.....	£2, 18s.
" " " " "	Dec. 19,.....	£1, 9s.
There was received for stone,.....		17s. 6d
" " " " "	140 bricks,.....	4s.
Total,.....		£7, 19s. 6d.

To this amount was added by subscription the following sums:

Brother Christopher Sower gave.....	£30, 00s.
" William Dishang "	8s.



The Germantown Burying Ground.

in Germantown. What a career was hers! Born at Concord, N. H., April 14, 1788; the daughter of Edward St. Loe Livermore, Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire and for several terms United States Senator. In the capital of the Nation, under the most attractive social conditions she surrendered herself wholly to Jesus, and became a wandering light, shedding in a thousand hearts warmth and cheer. Four times she journeyed to Palestine, and her voice was heard in all parts of her own continent. It is Harriet Livermore to whom Whittier refers in *Snow Bound* as

“Another guest that winter night,
Flashed back from lustrous eyes the light.
Unmarked by time, and yet not young,
The honeyed music of her tongue
And words of meekness scarcely told
A nature passionate and bold,
Strong, self-concentered, spurning guide,
Its milder features dwarfed beside
Her unbent will’s majestic pride.
She sat among us at the best,
A not unfeared, half-welcome guest,
Rebuking with her cultured phrase
Our homeliness of words and ways.”

This woman was born an Episcopalian, and later became a Congregationalist. She found on her missionary tours great charm in the Quaker meetings and in the simple faith of the German Baptist Brethren. Of these she says, “I visited them and was

pleased with their humble, modest appearance and behavior. In the course of the afternoon they sang several spiritual hymns. Before we parted several prayers were offered, and I ventured to join my feeble supplications in a vocal manner. This was the first time I had ever prayed in the presence of a man, except in sick chambers."

In 1722 she says, "There was a whisper in my mind concerning baptism. This whisper told me sprinkling was nothing—that infant sprinkling was not an evangelical rite." The outcome of this was her immersion on January 2, 1825. A large opening was made in the ice, prayer and song were offered at the water's side and then Harriet Livermore was buried with Christ in holy baptism.

When Harriet Livermore came to Philadelphia she was not welcomed by the more fashionable churches. Under the guise of hostility to women preachers she was refused admission to many pulpits. However Brother Peter Keyser, then pastor of the Brethren or Dunker church on Crown Street, near Callowhill, gladly gave her the privilege to speak. This is said to have been her first sermon in the city. In the congregation was Sarah Righter, afterwards Mrs. Major. Miss Livermore's sermon touched the heart of the young woman. She was converted, joined the church, and became a famous preacher among the Brethren. She began to preach when only twenty years of age. She was a woman of rare power, and her sermons

CHAPTER VIII.—SOME LEADERS IN COLONIAL AMERICA.

THE personality of good men is always worth recording. The men who made possible the Lord's work in Colonial America were all men of strong character, resolute, devout, and fearless. They wrought in a wilderness, with no support save the strong right arm of Him they served. They did a good work. Around their memory clusters only the fragrance of God's own. That we may know them as fully as we can I have thought it wise to select a few typical leaders and discuss their lives as fully as the meagre data at hand will allow.

1. Peter Becker.

First in the long procession of good men, led of God and called his ministers in the church in America, stands pious Peter Becker, who joined the church in Creyfelt, Germany, in 1714. He came from Dillsheim, where he was born in 1687. When the unfortunate division occurred at Creyfelt,⁽¹⁾ Peter Becker stood for moderation and for Christian charity.⁽²⁾ Saddened at the unexpected action of Elder Libe, he gathered a few pious families around him and prepared to sail to America.

(1) See Chapter IV.

(2) *Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 248, 249.

"This journey lasts from the beginning of May to the end of October, fully half a year, amid such hardships as no one is able adequately to describe with their misery.

"During the voyage there is on board these ships terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of seasickness, fever, dysentery, headache, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot and the like, all of which come from old and sharply salted food and meat, also from very bad and foul water, so that many die miserably.

"Add to this,—want of provisions, hunger, thirst, frost, heat, dampness, anxiety, want, afflictions and lamentations, together with other trouble, as *c. v.*, the lice abound so frightfully, especially on sick people, that they can be scraped off the body. The misery reaches the climax when a gale rages for two or three nights and days so that every one believes that the ship will go to the bottom with all human beings on board. In such a visitation the people cry and pray most piteously.

"When in such a gale the sea rages and surges, so that the waves rise often like high mountains one above the other, and often tumble over the ship, so that one fears to go down with the ship; when the ship is constantly tossed from side to side by the storm and waves, so that no one can either walk, or sit, or lie down, and the closely packed people in the berths are thereby tumbled over each other, both the sick and the well—it will be readily understood that many of these people, none of whom had been prepared for hardships, suffer so terribly from them that they do not survive it.

"Among the healthy, impatience sometimes grows so great and cruel that one curses the other, or himself and the day of his birth, and sometimes they come near killing each other. Misery and malice join each other, so that they cheat and rob one another. One always reproaches the other with having persuaded him to undertake the journey. Frequently children cry out against their parents, husbands against their wives and wives against their husbands; brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintances against each other. But most against the soul-traffickers.⁽¹⁾

"Many sigh and cry: 'Oh, that I were at home again, and if I had to lie in my pig-sty!' Or they say: 'O God, if I only had a piece of good bread, or a good fresh drop of water!' Many people whimper, sigh, and cry piteously for their homes; most of them get homesick. Many hundred people necessarily die and perish in such misery, and must be cast into the sea, which drives their relatives or those that persuaded them to undertake the journey, to such despair that it is almost impossible to pacify or console them. In a word, the sighing and crying and lamenting on board the ship continues day and night, so as to cause the hearts even of the most hardened to bleed when they hear it."

And this, Brethren, is the price Peter Becker and his followers paid to bring the religion of Jesus to the American wilderness!

May we never forget these people, nor prove faithless to the heritage they bequeathed at such sacrifice

(1) The land agents and ship agents, who held out to these Germans all sorts of enticements in order to gain a commission on their passage money and the land they purchased.

preached now stands a new house—the home of Abraham H. Cassel, the antiquarian, and one of his descendants.



Original Stone over Peter Becker's Grave.

Here he died on March 19, 1758, rich in years and richer in good works. He was buried in the old

graveyard near by, and a simple sandstone with the inscription, "Anno 1758, P. B.," marked his grave.

This gravestone was so small that it finally sunk beneath the sod and the grave was unmarked and almost forgotten. To Abraham H. Cassel, his old aunt pointed out the grave, explaining that she was perhaps the only person living who knew its location. Soon after that she died. Brother Cassel was the sole custodian of the sleeping place of our first American preacher. Years rolled by and typhoid fever seized upon the aged Christian. In his sickness he remembered that he alone knew of the exact spot where Peter Becker was buried. On his sick-bed he made a solemn vow to God that if his life were spared he would, at his own expense, erect a fitting memorial over the grave. God was good to him and in due time he was well. Then the order was given and a beautiful Carrara marble stone was prepared and fittingly engraved. When the workmen under Brother Cassel's direction dug the soil away to set the stone, their picks struck an obstacle,—a rough old sandstone. It was removed to enable the new stone to be securely set, when, wonderful to relate, the old gravestone was brought from beneath the sod! The inscription was plainly cut, and by the side of the new now stands the old stone which for a hundred years had been lost. Surely the hand of God was in this! Now we know of a surety the final resting place, and over it is this loving memorial.

heart of Elder Becker cannot be doubted. Every congregation in Pennsylvania, especially the Germantown, Falckner's Swamp, and Antietam churches, felt the force of this movement. Even the Amwell church was saddened and sundered by the machinations of the followers of Beissel.

Was Elder Becker right in standing steadfastly for the practices of the church and upholding pure and undefiled the faith he had received? To us, of course, there is at once an assent. He was right. But who could best confirm the righteous stand of this pious saint of God? The best witness would be Beissel himself. But he survived Peter Becker only ten years. With his death ended the hope of Elder Becker's complete vindication; unless, (strange unless!) unless some record from him is left to tell the right. Such a record is now in my possession. After many years of patient search, in an out-of-the-way corner of the country, in a miraculous manner, I was able recently to purchase a priceless treasure. It is the original manuscript Letter Book of Conrad Beissel, 347 folio pages of unpublished history of the Ephrata leader. When it is published the world will know what is now unknown and what is now falsely accepted with reference to this strange mystic spirit of the colonial wilds of Pennsylvania.

The *Chronicon Ephratense*, written by Peter Miller, scribe and successor of Beissel at Ephrata, printed in 1786, says (page 28) that Conrad Beissel "visited

Oh, how strangely the spark of Eternity or the new life of Grace hidden in God here in this tabernacle of the body—or in the life of mortality—must be brought through it all till it can come to growth and verdure. Oh, how many winds of tribulation have to blow over this poor plant, while it is rooted first in many heart-rending griefs. Oh, my dear, had I but been able to embrace thee more in this precious life of Grace, what a God-pleasing joy it would have given me. Only the sorrowful regret must be my comfort to this hour.

Thou canst hardly believe what deep emotions my heart and soul underwent, when we left your house after our visit, and although to this hour no one has told, nor was allowed to tell, my pen now brings it to the light that I must reveal my heart unto thee; for it fell upon my soul that the harvest was not reaped yet of that matter. When I lived with you 35 years ago, and that neither you nor I had understood what it signified, for something good was in the affair. This remained, and I still am your debtor, for you have not received your due for all you have done for me. Oh, how great is ignorance! The Lord from heaven must be your reward and paymaster, for I can no more make it up. It might have been accomplished in times past, when a kiss of peace was given in the water of baptism, if one had not been so ignorant.⁽¹⁾ But eternal praise be to the good God, who forgiveth

(1) This is evidently what the *Chronicon* bases the above mentioned interview upon. There is no evidence of a visit to Peter Becker after the writing of this letter. The visit referred to in the letter was paid Peter Becker while Beissel was on a visit to Amwell, New Jersey.

sins and trespasses, and who has pleasure in mercifulness and not in judgment.

Meanwhile I remain your debtor and well-wisher. Perhaps the balm of life will heal this ailment, if one is only clothed in faith and love, with God's patience.

As to the rest of our experiences on our journey, I have to tell you this yet. A beautiful harvest is reaped at Amwell of faithful believing souls; still the best part is yet to come, if some spirits among them were to be anointed with the holy oil of the chief high-priestly spirit, poured out and over and flowing down over their entire body to the hem of their robes. Then it might well give a planting which would reap into sheaves for the new world; for which I wish much divine prosperity. I can only say that we have enjoyed there a great deal of blessing, and in nearly every house where we were; which has moved me to a fervently loving compassion, as I see the faithfully disposed minds, although I saw not yet the right door opened with the Philadelphian church key, when a church will be built after the manner of the New Jerusalem where the gates shall stand open all around, night and day, to all the four parts of the world, to every nation and kindred, and tongue, and people, and yet nothing unclean shall enter. For at the very last call to the Last Supper of the Great God all those lying by the fence must be bidden and called in, so that the house of the Lord be filled.

I spend my days in great pains and sorrows for the sake of the sins of the children of my people. But what can be done? It is written: The patience

of God take for your salvation. The Lord will at last know how to gather in his own people and to deliver them from their misery. For the divine and heavenly birth stands at the present time in anxious groaning because the heavenly "Magia" is rather closed up and the earthly, on the other hand, stands wide open. Therefore, the entire earth is alarmed, pious and impious, which causes the holy ones to hold up their heads cheerfully, for this is a sign that the day of their salvation is nearing.

As to my condition and doings since we returned from our journey I have yet to report that the same has made me very quiet, and I have since left the house but little; also inwardly I was held in so closely that I would hardly have been able to fulfill my promise if the old brother König had not come to me and said how he was now going to set out upon this journey. Then I felt at once drawn to write this letter; but whether I shall be able to express myself fully, I do not know; for I am not able to rid myself of that which oppresses my heart.

But to return to ourselves, I have to report once for all, in all these things, where I feel to be thy debtor, I am conscious in my spirit of such a power of blessing as surpasses all understanding. If it is to be now, that my spirit can touch thee in thine, then methinks it is as it should be. Since I know nothing better to counsel, so I will pledge the love given from God in heaven, since I own nothing in worldly goods for the present time, and I hope the communicating love of God will "legitimate" itself so that all affliction can be done away with

blessed in the eternal world, wherein I hope to be included forever and ever, Amen.

I shall remain thy faithfully disposed,

FRIEDSAM, *otherwise called Conrad Beissel,
one who calls nothing his own
in this earth.*

P. S.—Anna Dorothy as well as daughter and son-in-law be heartily greeted, kissed, and loved from me.

Since there is absolutely no more prospect that we shall ever see each other again I want to say just this much more: my spirit holds thee and thy beloved N. N. together with and in the whole church of God, and in the general revival in Germany whose spirit's children we are.

N. B.—But this must be marked, the church of God has its twelve tribes in the new covenant as well as in the old, and the tribes in Germany could not well come to be born from the barren Rachel on account of the wrath of the dragon and the carnal Antichrist; therefore only the number of maid-servants was increased, and when it came far, Leah brought forth Judah, whence comes government according to the flesh. And so Rachel remained barren, and although in the tribe of Judah many a fine branch sprouted under the rule of the Kings, yet they were only few tribes in whom the fertility of the new world remained closed up; since it was reserved for the barren one to bear the seed. Meanwhile the Lord remembered Rachel and caused the church to emigrate towards the setting of the sun (*i. e.*, came to America). I must make it short, for I could write a book about this matter.

ran through eight editions before the end of the eighteenth century. The title here given is from the second edition by Samuel Sower. The first edition by him was issued in 1791 at Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania.

THE LITTLE HARP

Tuned According to Different
Beautiful

HYMNS AND SONGS OF PRAISE

Which are Heard by the Ends of
the Earth to the Glory of
the Righteous.

This little Harp sounds indeed sweetly, but yet in a
low tone,
Until the great Hosts of Harp Players shall take up
the Song.

*To God and the Lamb be the Honor and Praise
in Time and Eternity! Amen!*

SECOND EDITION.

BALTIMORE: Published by Samuel Sauer, 1797.

The sixth string sounds low, but joyfully, of patience.

1. Thou poor Pilgrim, who art wandering here in this valley of grief, and art longing ever and ever for that mansion of joy, as many an enemy besets thee, so that thou weepest much here,—patience.

and quietly, and though the region was infested with Indians and backwoodsmen, they were left unharmed.

"Shortly after the Revolutionary War the district near the monastery became more populated, and the monks, who seem to have had a longing for a solitary, lonely life, moved away and joined the Dunkard colony at Ephrata, Pa., which was then a comparative wilderness."

If these homeless men of 1737 had a dream that their humble act would be paraded in such fantastic tales surely they would have deposited somewhere the necessary disclaimers to needless notoriety. The simple record would read "A few young religious enthusiasts erected a two-roomed hut in 1737. They have gone; so has the hut."

That Alexander Mack removed to Ephrata, March 21, 1738, is true. Here his life was a series of religious excesses. In the Ephrata Society he was known as Brother Timotheus. The Ephrata Society was at this time in a turmoil over the Eckerlin-Beissel controversy. Israel Eckerlin was Prior. He endeavored to supplant Beissel as Superintendent of the Society. In this controversy Alexander Mack was on the side of Eckerlin and was one of his trusted and intimate friends.

In 1744 Israel Eckerlin decided to go upon a journey for a time in order to allay the growing bitterness in the community. For his journey he had as companions his oldest brother, Samuel Eckerlin, Alexander Mack and Peter Miller. These four

me rightly, for I have no mind to move again to the new station; unless it should be clearly ordained thus by Divine Providence, and I be more strongly convinced of it than I have ever yet been convinced of any change.

For the second—That Brother Heinrich Müller has such a poor view of the life of the Brethren in the new station is not a great wonder to me, and does not give me any different ideas of it than I entertained before, for just as much as he has praised it above the measure, just so much must he now despise it above the measure; and when, after this, he hits the right measure he has cause to ascribe such to the infinite mercy of God and not to his own mind. For it is easy for mankind to err, now by praising, now by fault-finding; but when we begin to learn to know our own hearts, we cheerfully leave all things just as they are, as we know we can make them neither better nor worse.

And for the third—That thou wilt receive me into thy house for love's sake, would be very acceptable; for any one who needs a lodging in Germantown must pay money, yet God takes care also of those who have nothing. I have, thank God, so far been able to eat my own bread, yet, under the blessing of God.

What you at last write—That I had nothing to fear for myself from the brethren in Ephrata, since they enter every day more into the divine simplicity and childlikeness, that is pleasant to me to hear. As you say, I shall not need to be afraid of them in Germantown either, for here I am farther away from them than if I were living with you.

Persons Baptized by Elder Mack.

- 1749, March 26, Elizabeth Ganz.
- 1750, May 3, Catharine Sharpnack, who became,
April 21, 1751, the wife of Elder
Sower.
- 1753, April 15, Sophia Schlingluff.
- 1755, June 22, Anna Schreiber.
- 1757, Justus Fox.
- 1758, July 22, William Dischang and Jacob Her-
man.
- 1769, July 29, Susanna Becker and Christopher
Sower, son of Elder Sower, and the
third Christopher, who in 1758 be-
came King's Printer and Deputy
Post-Master General for Nova Sco-
tia.
- 1769, Sept. 3, Michael Keyser, Sarah Mack, Susan-
na Becker.
- 1769, October 5, Peter Keyser and his wife Hannah,
Johannis Schlingluff, Conrad Stamm,
Henry Sharpnack and his wife Sarah,
Elizabeth Roble [Reubly], Sister
— Send.
- 1770, Sept. 3, D. Keiser and wife Hasel, Johannis
Weber, William Leibert.
- 1770, Sept. 30, Julius Reubly and his wife Apollonia.
- 1784, Sept. 19, Jacob Zeigler, Manuel Fox and his
wife.
- 1784, Oct. 24, Catherine Sower.
- 1785, Sept. 25, Nicholas Oliver, Benjamin Lehman,
Peter Keyser, Jr.

[illegible]

Letter of Alexander Mack to John Price.

(March 11, 1775.)

In Jesus the Lover of Our True Life,

Heart's-much-beloved Brother:—I have duly received thy dear little letter, but I cannot know yet if I shall be able to come to the next Great Meeting. I have been speaking to Brother Christopher Sower to enquire if he meant to go. He then had no mind to go, but if I should succeed to persuade him I would gladly stay home myself this time, according to the body, but according to the spirit I would be there in heartfelt love and "well-wishing." But if it should happen nevertheless, that he insisted on his refusal to go along, and if it should be convenient for me to go, I would first like to have his own and the Brethren's consent before starting on the journey; therefore I cannot yet say with certainty whether I shall come or not.

What concerns Brother Cornelius Nice, I have to state that he has had his name registered for drilling and that he seeks to withdraw as much as possible from the Communion and does not like to hear himself called Brother. To Brother Christoph Sauer he has refused the kiss when he spoke to him, and when I heard of it and also spoke to him, I did not offer him the kiss so as to indicate that he were as good as expelled already; yet I wanted to show him some patience in case he should perhaps feel repentance. I have asked him if he would resent it when I should pray for him, but he said no, he would like me to do it. Then I advised him to try for himself if he still could pray.

My impression of this period is, that it indicates the beginning of the time of trouble of which Christ

speaks: That we must indeed not be frightened, but yet must be on our guard before men. Yet I am not sure the best guarding consists in our trying to walk with a good conscience, both before God and man, and that we show our gentleness to everybody, for the Lord is near. He was, as the Scripture says, not in the wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, yet he was near, and in still, soft, gentle rustling; when this was heard Elias covered his face with his mantle and went out to meet the Lord. And since we are not able to know the hour of our departure from this sphere, so may the merciful good God give us to watch and pray that we may become worthy to escape from all that is to come, and to stand before the Son of Man. It is indeed near at hand, the great blessedness of the last time; but I do not expect it fully in this life which is subject to so many deaths, but I hope for a better life which is eternal. The beginnings of the trouble and the travail are in this life, and the hour of temptation ends and fulfills itself in the break of this life, but then in the other life we shall see what sort of a child has been born to us. Therefore Christ says we shall not fear those who may kill the body but can do no more than that.

What concerns me and mine, we are all pretty well. With a hearty greeting and loving kiss I commend thee to God and the word of his mercy, who is powerful to edify us and to give us the inheritance with all those who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, Amen.

Friendly greetings to thy dear parents and brothers, and also to the beloved members whom thou mayest meet on thy journey in case they should ask for me.

it might be that to-morrow I should write a little more to my Brother Johannes, yet I cannot tell if I shall be able. My dear wife and children send friendly greetings.

I remain your humble yet faithful fellow-brother,
SANDER MACK.

Creyfelt, the 11th March, 1775.

To the beloved Brother Johannes Preisz,
To open with his own hands.

The tender solicitude of this old saint of God is nowhere more plainly and touchingly set forth than in two letters written in 1772 to John Price concerning the baptism of the latter. When the good news reached Elder Mack he wrote:

The name of the Lord is an outpoured unguent,
In the same lovely and gracious name of Jesus
I wish peace, and hail my dear Brother Johannes Preisz.

I have received thy writing and read it rejoicing that the Lord is so friendly and has so lovingly invited thee to his heavenly Feast. Alas, my dear one in the Lord, do not think a trifle the chastisement of the Lord, especially since he regards thee so lovingly and leads thee to see the misery of thy sins, and at the same time comforts thy heart by good purposes to penetrate to a better life through the grace of God. I can well say that I have no greater joy than to see and hear that men are invited in their youth. O what a glorious thing it is when one then really comes and by the grace of God becomes faithful, then the joy is still greater. I have read the lines of thy hand with tears of joy and wish with all my heart that when the Lord will have completely restored thee and made

pain at the postponement of the sacred ordinance; and, finally, with what good sense he greets and kisses the candidate, making him feel a foretaste of the welcome that awaits him in God's family.

CREYFELT, the 29th December, 1772.

In Jesus the Crucified, Much-beloved Brother:—

In this same our Immanuel I wish with all my heart all comfort of love, according to the pleasure and the goodness of our God in the acknowledgment of our Savior who has died for our sins and has risen again for our righteousness.

I have received thy beloved letter and read it in compassionate love and have found in it first thy loving solicitude that no one of us some day should be found a wicked servant; because, as thou so well remarkest, the day approaches on which we all shall become manifest before the tribunal of Jesus Christ. To escape from this great misfortune we have much cause to implore Jesus, the true Light of the world, to give us a single eye so that our body be light and we may follow Him, the true Light of the world, so that we need not walk in darkness. For he who has a wicked eye, his body will be in darkness, speaketh the mouth of truth, and in such darkness man loses his trust in God and can no longer find any delight nor taste in self-denial, in which consists all spiritual growth and increase. Therefore sayeth the Lord: He who will be my disciple, let him deny himself and take my cross upon himself and follow me.

Oh, my dear one, who walks thus in simplicity, he walks safely. May the Lord give light to the eyes of

Remarkable Events at Germantown in 1791.

thou hadst been baptized it would be nothing new nor unusual, but an experience which has happened to many before thee or me. However the kind hand of God is bound by nothing, but He gives and takes as it is good for His children and can serve to their best. Let us on our part only try to become true to God. I have wondered somewhat that thou hast postponed thy baptism until spring, as thou dost not know if thou wilt live until then.

Be heartily greeted and kissed in the spirit and recommended to the grace of God. My wife and children send greetings too. Also greet thy dear parents and whoever of thy brother and sisters is willing to accept a greeting. I am thy humble Brother.

SANDER MACK.

To the dear Brother, Johannes Preisz,

To be opened at his pleasure.

Reference will be made under the chapter on Annual Meeting, touching an invited council meeting at Germantown, in 1791. The record of this council is here given in the handwriting of Elder Mack.

*Remarkable Events which have Transpired in the Year 1791,
in the Congregation of the Baptists in Germantown.*

On the 11th of June of this 1791st year a large meeting⁽¹⁾ took place in Germantown, where many Brethren from far and near came together; several elders of several congregations were likewise present.

There a question was brought up by Brethren from the Germantown congregation to the assembled Brethren coming from other places. The good pur-

(1) Was not this the Annual Meeting for 1791?

First Question.—Is it possible that thou canst do this thing and yet remain a preacher of the Gospel?

Second Question.—Dost thou perhaps consider my dear Brother Johannis Preisz an unbeliever? Why so? John the Apostle says, we know that we have come from death unto life if we love the brethren. Whoever does not have this love remains in death.

My much-beloved friend, should it not be pleasing to thee to answer my questions, then I hope thou wilt surely try to answer them in some measure to thy own conscience.

I shall try to remain thy good friend and well-wisher,
SANDER MACK.

Author of Valuable Works.

As early as 1760, says Hildeburn, in his *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press*, Sower published a treatise from the pen of Alexander Mack, entitled: *Eine Armuthige Erinnerung zu einer Christlichen Betrachtung von der Wunderbaren Allgegenwart des Allwissenden Gottes*, 8vo., 7pp.

In 1788 there was published at Ephrata a work entitled: *Anhang zum Widerlegten Wiedertaucher*,⁽¹⁾ and in the same year from the same press, at the expense of the Brotherhood, Alexander Mack issued his famous defense of the doctrines and rites of the Brethren church as Scriptural, entitled "Apologia."⁽²⁾ The full title is: *Apology, or a Scriptural Answer of Certain Truths, Brought about by a Recently*

(1) Copy in Library of Juniata College.

(2) Copy in Library of Juniata College.

through Jesus Christ in the Holy Scriptures; before which creed all imagination and fancy vanishes as frost before the rays and heat of the sun.

Thirdly.—The Anabaptists are accused that their doctrine (*Lehrbegriffe*) shuns reason (reference to p. 9) and cannot stand close examination. The Anabaptists desire to have no other doctrine than the words of their Savior as they are written in the New Testament, which words never evade reason, and are not only as well refined gold which is able to stand the closest examination, but they will also remain when heaven and earth shall pass away.

Fourthly.—In the fact that one accuses a lover of the truth of doing a wrong to reason because he takes it captive under obedience of truth,—although there is no greater honor to be found under heaven for our little reason than to be permitted to shine in the bonds and fetters of heavenly wisdom and wherever it is met with outside of these confines, wherever it is outside of its own free state, it must be as a harlot who for her punishment of the terribleness of her folly (lack of reason) must be plagued, harassed, and condemned.

Fifthly.—Insomuch as the Anabaptists are accused, they are Anabaptists because they hold of all people on the earth the right baptismal command of Jesus Christ, and are therefore not *against* but *for* baptism; moreover it is a fact that he teaches in his dialogue that the Anabaptist truly deserves this name, and his last expression testifies to this in which he declares the baptism, which was practiced by Jesus Christ and his apostles, entirely unnecessary; whereby he clearly proves that he is against baptism. For Christ himself

men, and to sever asunder the lurking place of this ignorance and wickedness; to preach the kingdom of God, to make a place for the *inward* kingdom of God; and to destroy the kingdom of Satan. Wherever now this God-like work is received in men, there is Christ himself received in his rightful possession. John 1: 12, To them he gave power to become the sons of God. N. B.—They who believe in his name, to such children the washing of regeneration (*Bad der Wiedergeburt*) is necessary; through this also water baptism itself takes its beginning *inwardly* and is outwardly put into effect, as it pleases God. Christ says: He who looks upon a woman to lust after her, has broken honor with her already in his heart. Now, if the kingdom of Satan has such power over men who allow themselves to be caught in the snare of shameful lust, how much more has the kingdom of God power over men who allow themselves to be caught in the net of the Holy Gospel which heavenly wisdom has spun and woven.

Thence when the treasurer (of Queen Candace) spoke to Philip: Behold here is water, what hinders me from being baptized? Acts 8: 36, he had received (or accepted) water baptism *within* already in faith. But Philip desired that he should have received (*angezogen*) also Christ *within* through faith before he entered the water, hence he said: If thou believest with thy whole heart thou mayest. He answered: I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. In this opinion Paul speaks. Gal. 3: 27. For as many of you as are baptized into (*auf*) Christ, they have put on (*angezogen*) Christ, concerning which it can now be truly said, he is baptized. However, such an one

You can believe, I now am free,
From every mortal care and fear.
O! look unto the Lamb once slain,
Through whom you can redemption gain.

My staff through life, I leaned upon
Was longing for a patient faith;
For Jesus spake unto my soul,
From all my debt a full relief,
Like frost, when touched at op'ning day,
By sunlight, quickly melts away.

Speak not of others' worthiness,
But only of what Jesus done;
The world with all its vanities,
Can never save a single one.
Redemption has appeared to men,
Through Jesus' grief, and dying pain.

Before me as I write lies the private diary of this pious man. It is in manuscript and has never been published. What a mine of gold! When its full contents are made known, the memory of this godly elder will be cherished in every believing heart. It contains in all 277 pages, and the limited space at my disposal allows of only the most meagre attention.

As early as 1772, January 28th, the anniversary of his birth, he composed a hymn of praise to Almighty God for his loving and preserving care. This custom he continued almost uninterruptedly upon each succeeding anniversary until the year of his death, 1803. In all there are twenty-three of these remarkable poems.

The last ones, written in 1800, 1801, and 1802, together with one composed December 27, 1801, are here given in his own hand-writing. They are remarkable evidences of mental and spiritual vigor at the age of four score and ten years.

1800 Jan 28 Jamaica
 nun find ich und achte Jahr:
 meine Wanders-Gist der Zeit
 Ich hab' dich mich ganz und gar
 auf ein and're ~~Leb~~ Leben geföhrt
 Willst du Unglück mich nun zulegen
 Ich hab' dich mich nicht hergezoht
 die Pfau' hinter Dornen Cron
 Ich hab' dich zum gnaden-Loch.
 Alexander Mack

Alexander Mack's Birthday Hymn in 1800.

1800, January 28.

Now have eighty-eight years
 Of my mortal life gone by;

How One Wins the Price [of Salvation].

Who works not by his own strength,
But by the grace of the highest,
Learns by pious deeds
Love, humility, and patience,
Becomes clean of conscience
And small in heart and thought;
Idleness, splendor, and delicacies
Avoids, as well as a bad conscience—
Who at all times accuses himself
He wins it from every one.

The Wise Virgin.

Esther desires nothing but what
Hegai, the King's Chamberlain said.
The wise soul has no delight
In false ornaments,
She loves Christ's counsel
And follows, in all ways,
The wise Hegai's words,
The true spirit of wisdom;
Therefore the King loves her
And shows her many favors,
And Esther found grace with all.

From a letter written by Elder Martin Urner in 1771, it appears that Alexander Mack was a weaver.⁽¹⁾ Perhaps he learned the trade from good old Peter Becker. He was a vigorous man physically.

(1) This is abundantly confirmed in his diary. He was a widely-known weaver of stockings and maker of caps and shirts. Brother William Dishong was the foreman of Elder Mack's weaving establishment and succeeded him in the business.

not prevent him from pleading for the poor widow at the gate. His last letter was written to the congregation in behalf of a poor old widow named Stierli from Philadelphia.

It seems that this old widow had been a member of the congregation and had fallen away. She came in the autumn and begged to be fully received again, but was refused "for the reason of her changeable nature, and her still too great ingratitude." He describes her as a "poor, needy, weak, and with several boils on her head, badly suffering widow, who lies before our door and craves to nourish herself with the crumbs that fall from our table." Although the congregation did not receive her into the Widow's Home, an institution that had been long maintained by the congregation, a few brethren at the Thursday's meeting agreed to give her "during these hard times" a quarter of flour every month. Elder Mack adds, "I would have been better pleased had they added a pound of butter." He expresses the hope that when the New Year's day shall have come, the brethren would add that pound of butter. The day came and the brethren took away the quarter of flour from the poor old woman. "Then my thoughts stood still. The reflections on this subject have gradually in this New Year plunged my soul into sorrow." He could not rest. A few members were called to his room and as a result he announces, "that on next Saturday a quarter of good flour and

nun folget auch seiner von ihm selbst
aufgesetzt Grab = Schrift.

Gott
der uns hat
aus Staub gemacht
und erlindern
zum Haus gebracht
nicht fragen
seiner Ehre viel mehr!
nimm ihn auf seinen
Bild werke!

Alexander Mack Epitaph 1712
im Aufsteigen 1803
alt
90 Jahr one mont
and 20 Days

Alexander Mack's Epitaph in his own Handwriting.

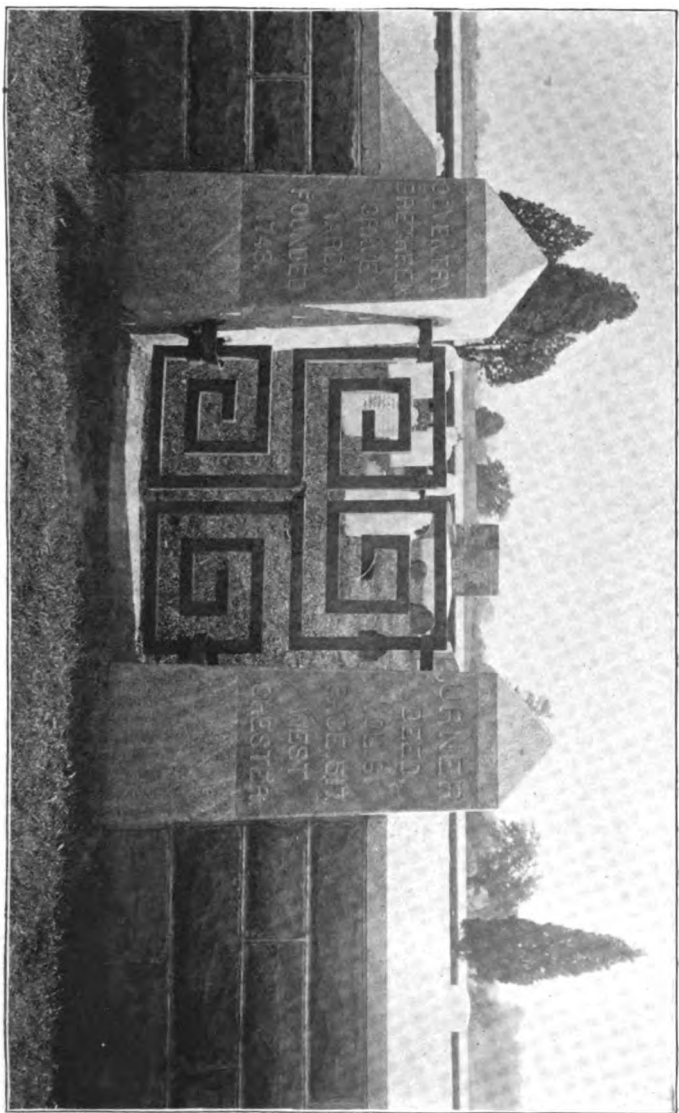
Peter Heffly, Daniel Eicher and wife, Owen Longacre, and Andrew Sell.⁽¹⁾

Here on the Schuylkill Peter Becker preached to the new congregation, assisted by Martin Urner until 1729, when Alexander Mack came to America and ordained Brother Urner to the eldership. He was a successful elder, and the Coventry church was never rent by schisms, nor seriously interfered with by the Ephrata movement not far away. This shows the great wisdom and foresight of Elder Urner. The Coventry church prospered from the beginning, and was soon a much larger congregation than the mother congregation in Germantown. Elder Urner was assisted in his ministry by Casper Ingles of whom little is known. He baptized, in 1735, George Adam Martin, who was previously a Reformed, and a member of the congregation over which presided the celebrated Peter Miller, afterwards the leading spirit of the Ephrata community.⁽²⁾

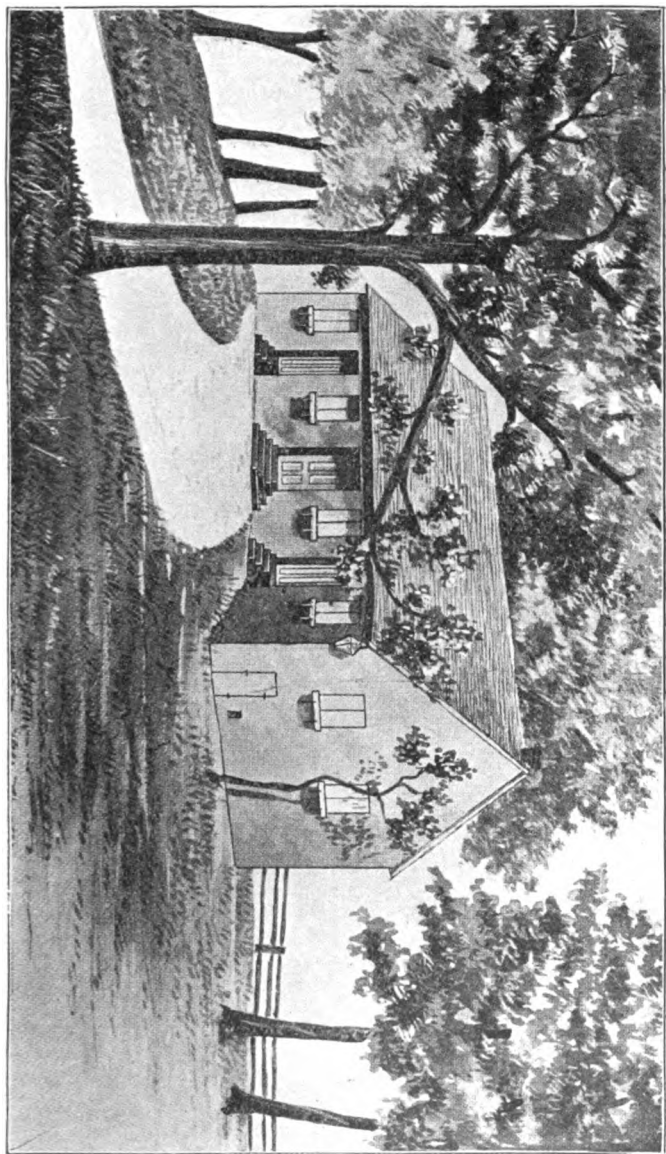
In 1737, Martin Urner went to the Great Swamp to baptize several persons. On this journey he was accompanied by George Adam Martin, who was then from all accounts a minister of the church. At this baptism, as was customary from the first baptism at Schwarzenau, Elder Urner read to the candidates Luke 14: 25-33.

(1) Andrew Sell was baptized before 1724, either in Germany or, more likely, at Germantown earlier in the year.

(2) Peter Miller joined the Ephrata Society in May, 1735.



Entrance to the Corymby Burying Ground.



Coventry Brethren Church. Second Building. Erected in 187.
By permission of Dr. I. N. Utner.

A relatively complete list of the ministers of this congregation is given by Dr. I. N. Urner as follows:

Martin Urner,.....	born 1695,	died 1755.
Martin Urner, Jr.,...	" 1725,	" 1799.
Jonas Urner,.....	" 1772,	" 1813.
Casper Ingles,.....	"	"
Peter Rinehart,.....	" 1733,	" 1806.
Martin Rinehart,....	" 1757,	" 1820.
Abraham Rinehart,.	" 1770,	" 1842.
George Price,.....	" 1753,	" 1823.
John Price, Sr.,.....	" 1782,	" 1850.
John Price, Jr.,.....	" 1810,	" 1879.
Jacob Harley,.....	" 1786,	" 1842.
John Harley,.....	" 1812,	" 1895.
David Keim,.....	" 1802,	" 1897.
Peter Hollowbush,..	" 1805,	" 1872.
Jacob Conner,.....	"	1834.
Isaac Urner Brower,	"	1844.
Jesse P. Hetrick,...	"	1844.
John Y. Eisenberg,..	"	1840.
Lewis M. Keim,.....	"	1873.

Of the two Martin Urners and of Peter Becker, the organizer and first preacher, we have already written.

JONAS URNER was a son of the second Martin Urner. He began to preach at an early age. In 1811 he removed to Carroll County, Maryland, and became a minister in the Pipe Creek church. He died May 13, 1813, and is buried in the Wolfe graveyard. He was married to Hannah Rinehart who survived him many years. She died August 13, 1845. To them were born

THE HARLEYS:—With Elder Alexander Mack in 1729 came "Rudolph Harli," the father of all the Harleys in the church. He had one daughter and one son, Rudolph. Rudolph the second married Mary, daughter of Peter Becker. They had thirteen children. Among these were Hannah, wife of Ulrich Stauffer; Rudolph, who married Barbara Bach; Sarah, wife of Elder George Price of the Coventry church; and Samuel, who married Catherine Sower, daughter of Elder Christopher Sower. Samuel founded Harleysville and is the grandfather of Abraham H. Cassel, the Antiquarian. Jacob Harley, of the Coventry ministry, was a son of the third Rudolph, above named. He was the last preacher to use the German language in the Coventry church.

ELDER DAVID KEIM was a son of Jacob Keim. David Keim removed in 1845, to Warwick Township and became the founder of the Brethren community at Harmonyville, Pa.

PETER HOLLOWBUSH was born in Limerick Township June 2, 1805, was a miller by trade, married in 1828 Hannah Wilson, united with the church in 1840, was elected to the ministry November 5, 1842, and was a faithful and zealous worker for the Lord.

Of the other ministers of this congregation no sketch is attempted because they are living. They are all earnest and efficient laborers for the Lord, and are doing his work well. The Coventry church is now one hundred and seventy-five years old. It

wife. The first meetings were held on the Mill Creek. They soon removed to the house of Rudolph Nägele in Earl township where they worshiped for seven years. During these seven years Beissel developed his strange ideas, and in 1728 withdrew from the Brotherhood. Many of the members followed him. This group in 1732 removed to Ephrata.

The members who did not follow Beissel were ministered to by Elder Peter Becker until 1734, when on September 29, they formed an independent congregation, with Elder Michael Frantz as their leader. He was ordained in 1735. In this original group of Conestoga members were Michael Pfautz, Rant Woolf, John Frantz, Emick Reyer [Royer], George Reyer, John Landis, Samuel Good, Henry Sneider, Philip Rowland and others. Elder Frantz died in 1748⁽¹⁾ and Elder Michael Pfautz was his successor until 1763 when Jacob Sontag was ordained elder.

On the authority of Abraham H. Cassel, the following somewhat remarkable method was used September 29, 1734, to determine the loyalty of the members. A great meeting or council of the congregation was held and Michael Frantz placed a rail on the floor of the barn in which the meeting was held. He then requested all who wished to join the new congregation to step to the right side, he leading the way. He also requested all those who desired to fol-

(1) This is the date given by the official records of the congregation in my possession. Morgan Edwards also gives 1748.

innovations that were being introduced by the mystic Conrad Beissel.

He was baptized by Peter Becker on the 29th of September, 1734, the same day that Conestoga was organized into a separate church; and while it was otherwise unsupplied, this Brother Frantz was commissioned to serve them in the capacity of an exhorter, in which he approved himself so well that he was soon ordained by the imposition of hands to be their elder, and the next year (1735), he took upon him the entire care of the church, which he served with exemplary zeal and fidelity until the day of his death, December, 1747. One record says in the year 1748. His remains are buried in the old graveyard near the Cocalico. The following is an attempted translation of a little note or epitaph by an unknown hand:

“In this year, 1748, our Elder and Overseer, Michael Frantz, departed this life and has exchanged Time with Eternity, after being well tried by affliction.

“Farewell, on the Chariot of God,
We do not envy thee thy rest,
By angels thou’rt carried the road,
Toward the abode of the blest
To join in that heav’nly abode,
The host of the angelic choir,
To sing and rejoice in thy God,
To praise Him forever and ever.”

Brother Frantz appears to have been an approved workman of the Lord, insomuch that the little church,

composer of religious hymns. Brother Christopher Saur of Germantown published a collection of his poetic and other productions, in 1770, under the title of "*Einfältige Lehr-Betrachtungen, und kurzgefasstes Glaubens-Bekänntnisz des Gottseligen Lehrers, Michael Frantzen, Weyland gewesenen Vorstehers der Tauffer-gemeine in Canastogoe, nun zum gemeinen Besten dem Druck übergeben.*"

Michael Pfautz.

Michael, or Hans Michael Pfautz, was another of those ancient worthies whose memory deserves more than a mere notice. He was born in the Palatinate of the Rhine in Germany, in 1709, and emigrated to this country in 1727, when about eighteen years of age. He came over in "the ship *William and Sarah* from Rotterdam, last from Dover, England, under command of Master Hill, as by clearance of his Majesty's Customs there."

They arrived early in September of the same year with 109 Palatines on board, when said master, being asked if he had any license from the Court of Great Britain for transporting these people, and what their intentions were in coming hither, said that he had no license or allowance for their transportation more than the above clearance, and that he believed they designed to settle in this province, etc. Then, at a meeting of the Board of the Provincial Council held at the Court House in Philadelphia on the 21st of the same

George Reyer and wife, Sister Bolinger, a Sister Landis (who formerly was an Ephrataite), George Adam Martin, of whom an account is given in the Bermudian and Stony Creek congregations, Jacob Schweiger (Sweigert[?]) and wife, Hannes Lehr and wife.

In 1739 were added Paul Sieger and wife, Ludwig Mahler and wife, Michael Pfautz and wife, Hannes Huber, Jacob Martin and wife, Jacob Schwartz, Henry Mohler, George Mohler (who died aged seventy-two), Sebastian Ruthy (who died aged seventy-nine) and wife, Hannes Bernhard Wolf, Sisters Faren, Frantz, Brüderly, Bläs (wife of George Bläs), Longenecker, and Föglis.

In 1740 were added Jacob Stucky and wife, Hannes Gehr and wife, Jacob Kissel, George Mohler's wife, and Henry Mohler's wife.

In 1741 were added Frederick Altdorfer and wife, George Schwartz and wife, Christian Stander, Jr., Joseph Flory, Ulrich Scherck, Henry Dielman and wife, and Sister George Hög.

In 1742 were added Jacob Schautz, Matthes Gish and wife, Brother Dielman, Sr., Jacob Baer, Ludwig Bender and wife from the Ephrataites, Henry Weiss, Hannes Adam Schneider and wife, George Hög, Walter Vonderburg, Hannes Lautermilch and wife, Henry Miller, Hannes Mäder and wife, Jacob Biderly, wife and two daughters, Jacob Benedig, Jacob Mohler and wife, sisters Schwartz, Judid(?), Becker and Liechtis (Lichty), of the Ephrataites.

In 1743 were added Martin Wetzel, Moritz Muhlhaüss and wife, Christoph Geiss, Jacob Conrad and wife, Abraham Wendel and wife, Jacob Mayer, Jacob

October 19, Veronica Reiser.

November 4, Catharine Reiser.

In 1782, October 20, were added Christian Diel and Peter Meyer.

In 1783, June 13, was added George Stohler, Jr.

October 4, Christian Martin, Hannes Baeker, Jacob Eshelman and wife, and Hannis Frautz's daughter.

In 1784, October 24, was added John Kochenderfer.

In 1787, August 21, was added Barbara Kinsy.

In 1789, May 13, was added Elizabeth Herr.

In 1790, May 3, was added Daniel Hollinger.

In 1791, August 21, were added John Eby and his wife, Esther.

October 23, Peter Hamacher.

In 1793, May 12, were added Hannis Groff and his wife, Elizabeth.

In 1795 was added Barbara Hollinger.

In 1796 was added Christian Herr.

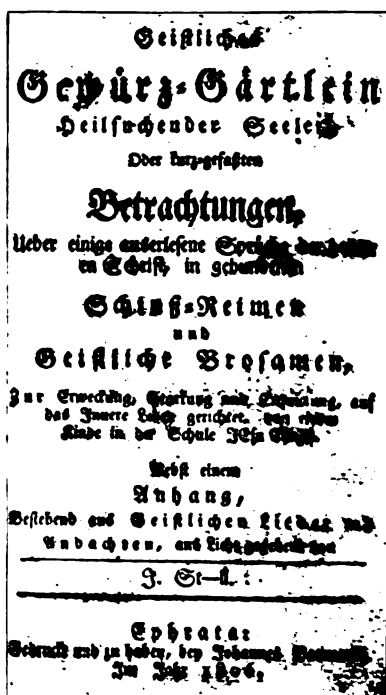
In 1797, September 14, were added Daniel Schumacher and his wife, Magdalena.

In 1799, May 13, were added Joseph Hirsch and his wife, — Krebiel and wife, and Elizabeth Ely. These five were baptized by Jacob Donner, the poet preacher. Later in the year were added David Eshelman and his wife, Barbara.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jacob Stoll". The letters are dark and fluid, with a prominent initial 'J' and a long, sweeping tail on the 'l'.

This completes the record to the end of the century.
In all four hundred and sixty-three members were

added to this church. These members removed south and west, spreading the Gospel and giving membership to many of the early frontier churches. Thou-



Title Page of Jacob Stoll's Book.

sands who now belong to the Lord's family will find here the date of the religious birth of pious ancestors. The record also is inspiring to the church student: showing, as it does, the wonderful growth of the

Lord's cause in the early days. Elders Frantz, Pfautz, Sontag, Longenecker and Stoll, may your memorable work for the church never be forgotten!

In 1770 about fifty-three families were connected with the Conestoga church, of whom the following eighty-six were in full communion:⁽¹⁾

Elder Jacob Sontag and wife, John Landis, minister, and wife, John Rosh and wife, Peter Eichelberger and wife, Michael Frantz and wife, Henry Mohler and wife, Peter Royer and wife, Tobias Miller and wife, Christopher Becker and wife, Elizabeth Lessley, Catherine Harlacher, Ann Mohler, Magdalene Mille-naer, Daniel Bollinger and wife, Daniel Royer and wife, John Royer and wife, Martin Meyer and wife, Jeremiah Woolf and wife, George Schwarts and wife, Jacob Landis and wife, David Landis, Christopher Westenberger and wife, Jacob Sponhauer and wife, Christopher Widder and wife, Jacob Knodel and wife, Salome Harlacher, Barbara Frantz, Catherine Royer, Margaret Landis, Barbara Steiner, Barbara Schob, Henry Schneider and wife, Daniel Hollinger and wife, Christopher Royer and wife, John Meyer and wife, Samuel Good and wife, Eva Sychrift, Jeremiah Woolf, jun. and wife, Jonas Jones and wife, Jacob Heller and wife, Mrs. Histant, Mrs. Moser, Mrs. Behr, Christian Haasz and wife, Jacob Harnly and wife, Magdalene Landis, Mary Frantz, Magdalene Bollen-ger, Mary Koch, Barbara Koch, Henry Schneider, jun. and wife, Susannah Landis, Catherine Landis.

(1) List taken from Morgan Edwards' *Materials Towards a History of the American Baptists*, p. 80.

White Oak Congregation.

About 1729 George Reyer [Royer], John Longenecker and others came from Germany and settled near the present town of Lititz in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. As early as 1736, there were a goodly number of members, who united to hold the communion services and to organize a congregation. Elder Michael Frantz was their first minister. He lived in the Cocalico church. He was succeeded by Elder Michael Pfautz and he, in turn, by Elder Christian Longenecker, who was succeeded by Elder John Zug. From the diary of Elder Christopher Sower I learn that a meeting was held by him and Elder Martin Urner on August 16, 1780, in the White Oak congregation and that "Brother John Zug was ordained to be elder, to be under Elder Christel [Christian] Longenecker. But if Brother Longenecker dies, gets sick, takes a journey, or moves away, then shall Brother Zug perform all the duties of an elder. Except under these conditions, however, nothing of importance is to be undertaken without Brother Longenecker's counsel." There was a meeting held at the same place with a large attendance.

This congregation, in 1770, had in all sixty-five baptized and active members:

Elder Christian Longanacre [Longenecker] and wife, John Zug and wife, John Pfautz and wife, Henry Kuensing, Jacob Kuensing and wife, Christian Kra-

biel and wife, Jacob Zug and wife, Widow Huber, Catherine Bitner, Elizabeth Reir[Royer], Abraham Flohry and wife, Conrad Gingle, George Mohler and wife, Elizabeth Huft, Martin Schuh and wife, Jacob Hershy and wife, Andrew Eby and wife, Henry Giebel and wife, Barbara Eby and four daughters, Henry Eter and wife, Elizabeth Langanacre and wife, Ulrich Langanacre, John Häckman and wife, Henry Stohler and wife, John Lautermilch and wife, George Kleine and wife, Catherine Gish, John Frantz and wife, Ann Huber, Fronica —, Catherine Royer, Salome Borg-hart, Mrs. Kratzer, Conrad Hausser and wife, and George Stohler and wife.

Great Swatara Congregation.

Great Swatara or East Conewago congregation dates from 1752, when George Miller was baptized by Elder Michael Pfautz. His wife soon after became a member. The church increased, especially by removals from White Oak, and in the year 1756, the congregation was formally organized with Elder Pfautz in charge. At his death in 1769, George Miller was placed in charge, but was not ordained until August 15, 1780, by Elders Sower and Uerner. Adam Hammaker was also a minister in this congregation. In 1770, there were thirty-nine members:

George Miller, minister, and wife and daughter, Adam Hammaker, minister, and wife and daughter, Peter Ertzstone and wife, Philip Roemer and wife, John Buck and wife, John Eter and wife, Jacob Metzgar and wife, Henry Thomas and wife, Christopher Brauser

Northkill Congregation.

As early as 1748 there was an organized congregation in Tulpehocken and Bern townships in Berks county. Elder Michael Frantz was their first elder and the first members were John Stump and his sister, Frederick Moyer and wife, and a few others whose names are not known. In 1750, Elder George Kleine was placed in charge. The congregation did not flourish, owing to frequent removals of the members. The cause of these removals may be found in the fact that the Tulpehocken country was at this time a hotbed of sectarianism and also an exposed frontier. In 1770, there were eleven members:

Elder George Kleine and wife, Valentine Lang, Elizabeth Reiler, Elizabeth Stump, Sarah Solenberger, John Stoner and wife, Mary Stoner, Susanna Mackley, Elizabeth Brandel.

Codorus Congregation.

The movement of emigration in the Brethren church before the Revolutionary War was southward along the Piedmont Plateau. The members were agriculturalists and naturally sought out and possessed the fertile limestone valleys of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas. In 1758, Elder Jacob Tanner [Donner] organized a church in York county about eleven miles from York. Among the first members were Rudy Yount, Peter Brillhart, John Brillhart, and others. Elder Jacob Donner was a

were with thee thou wast not well, which I regretted much; but I hope, my dear brother, that my letter will find thee in good health, which would make me very glad. You also may know that I and the brethren in this neighborhood are all well yet, and will be as long as the Lord grants it, but how long that may be is known to the Lord. What concerns the young folks, many of them have the "Porpellen," also many grown people allow themselves to be "vaccinted," but none of the brethren, who commend their children to God their Maker who has given them, and who turns all to the best of themselves or of their children's welfare.

Heartily beloved brother, day before yesterday I heard of the dear Brother Daniel Lettermann, that he is still unwell, after I saw you I have been to visit him and found him ailing, yet his illness was mostly a weakness of body, he could not endure any cold, and as I have heard he is yet in the same condition. All of his family however are well. I told him also of you, and gave him your hearty greetings, and also Peter Leibert's, when we took last farewell at thy house, although most of the brethren had charged me to greet from them all. Now my dear brother, I think of concluding; I hope thou wilt bear in patience with my imperfection. Should it please God that we could meet again in this life I should be very glad but the will of the Lord be done.

I wish by the Grace of God the love of Christ to enter my heart to keep you in my remembrance before God. In the same manner I wish you to remember me. The good God alone can make us fit for this, to the same I commend you all heartily.

lower of Beissel and almost immediately removed to Stony Creek in what was then Bedford county. Henry Lohman was then chosen minister, and was as yet not ordained in 1770, when the membership was representative of forty families and comprised fifty-eight members, whose names are herewith given:

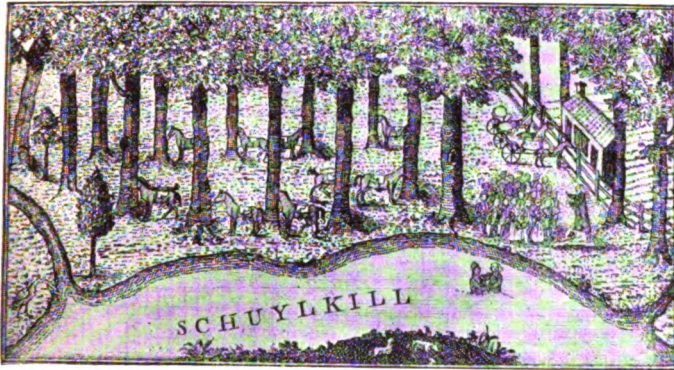
Henry Lohman, minister, and wife, Frederick Reuter, wife and daughter, Daniel Fahnestick and wife, Paul Traub and wife, Sebastian Sholles and wife, John Cook, wife and son, Peter Bender and wife, Melchior Webber and wife, John Bence and wife and daughter and four sons, — Frick, John Lehn and wife, John Messerbach and wife, John Miller and wife and two sons, George Reiss, George Neiss and wife, Benjamin Gebel and wife, Philip Gebel, Peter Beussel and wife and son and daughter, Philip Beussel and wife, Belzar Smith and wife, Adam Weyley and wife, Mrs. Dorothy, — Stauffer, Elizabeth Foltz.

Stony Creek Congregation.

The first movement of Brethren across the Allegheny Mountains in Pennsylvania was to *Bruederthal*, Brother's Valley, in what is now Somerset county, Pennsylvania. About 1762 this congregation began under George Adam Martin. He was, at this time, a Seventh Day Baptist, and the congregation at the beginning, held to the same doctrine. They soon, however, returned to the practice and faith of the Brethren church. The number of members, in 1770, was seventeen, Elder George Adam Martin and wife,

Maryland, and their names Edwards does not give. His volume on Maryland was never published. Inquiry at the Maryland Historical Society and of a number of learned historians in Maryland failed to aid me. In a succeeding chapter some fragmentary facts will be enumerated.

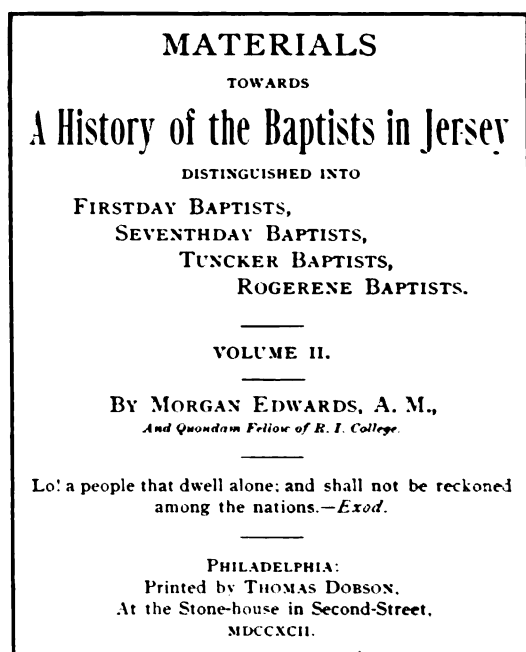
The growth from 1724 to 1770 was good. The church prospered. Her elders were noble men. They



Baptism Scene from an Old Print (1770).

wrought wisely and well. It was no small matter to travel long distances in a wilderness, preach in private houses, organize new congregations, and at the same time maintain a growing family in a new country. Add to this the fact that the Brethren were all Germans, that their message was only to Germans, that the population was dominantly English and their success is wonderful. Surely the Lord was with them.

Reference has already been made to the fact that Elder John Naas founded the first church in New Jersey. The only account of the work in New Jersey is found in Vol. II of Morgan Edwards, and it is here



given in full. The work is now exceedingly rare, a copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the copy possessed by the writer are the only ones now known to be accessible. The accompanying cut is the

frontispiece of the volume published in 1770 on Pennsylvania Baptists.

Part III.—Treats of the Tunker Baptists.

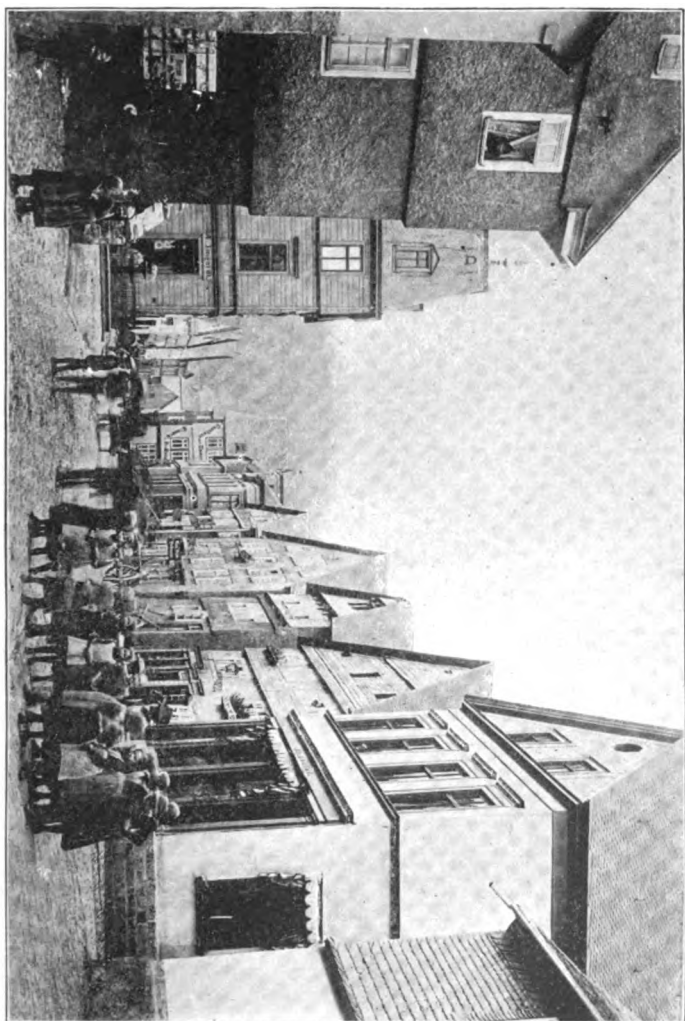
The word *Tunker* in German, and the word *Baptists* in Greek, and the word *Dippcr* in English, are exactly of the same signification. The Germans sound the letter "T" soft like "D": hence these Baptists are called Dunkers. Had Dr. Douglas attended to this, he would not say that they should be called *Dunkards*. The first appearance of these people in America, was in the fall of 1719, when twenty families arrived in Philadelphia. In 1722 about ten families more arrived. In 1729 other thirty families arrived at the same place; which was the last division of the Tunker church which originated with eight souls, at Schwartzenau in Germany, 1708. (See my account of them in Vol. I, p. 64; or in Morse, under the word *Tunker*, where the same account is transcribed.) Among the last division were Rev. *John Naas*,⁽¹⁾ *Anthony Decrdorf*, *Jacob More*, *Rudolph Harley* and *John-Peter Laushe*: these five persons, and their families, crossed the Delaware, in 1733, and settled at Amwell, in *Hunterdon* County, about 38 miles northeast from Philadelphia. The present number of families is twenty-eight; whereof forty-six persons are baptized and in the communion, here administered at no set time; but as often as a brother finds himself disposed to give the feast of charity; then the church is invited to meet at his house (for they have no meetinghouse): and when washing feet is over, and the right hand of fellowship, and kiss of charity given,

(1) This is not correct, Elder Naas did not come to America until 1733.

the first has a wife, but no issue; the other's wife is Margaret Bechleshammer, by whom he has children John, Henry, Jacob, Abraham, Ann and Margaret. The above is the present state of the *Tunker* church at Amwell, Feb. 2, 1790.

SYLLABUS.

Churches of the Tunker Baptists in New Jersey,	1
Members,	46
Families,	28
Souls (allowing five to a family),.....	140
Ministers, ordained,.....	0
Ministers, licentiate,	2



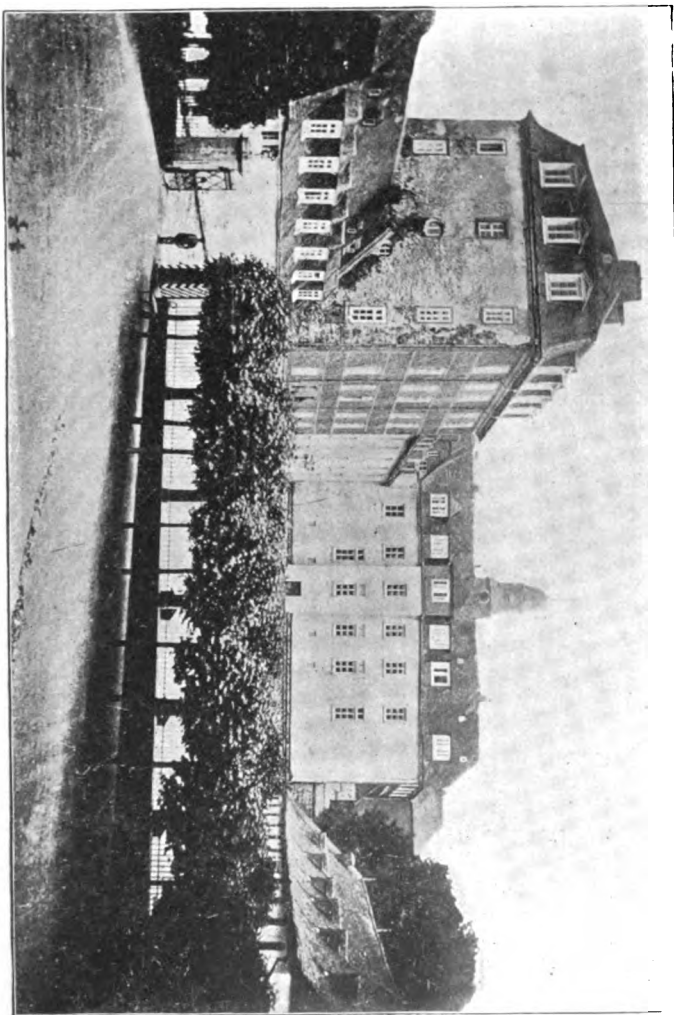
Laasphe, Germany, Home of Christopher Sewer.

the country. They were broader than sect or party, and outlived their own generation. They live to-day in a thousand influences that enter into the complex social, educational, industrial, and religious life which we call American civilization.

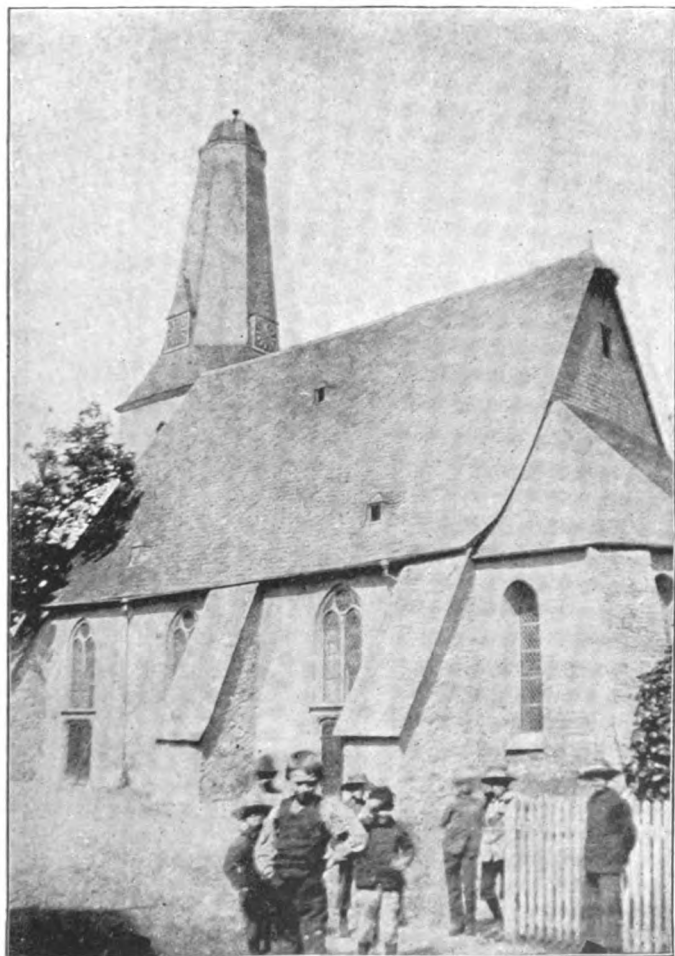
Of the life of the first Sower⁽¹⁾ very little is known. He was born in 1693 in the village of Laasphe, a town of Wittgenstein (now in the district Arensburg), Westphalia.

Laasphe was in close proximity to Berleberg and to Schwarzenau, centers of extraordinary religious activity. The opening years of Sower's life were passed in the midst of remarkable religious movements. Protestation against the rigid, inflexible orthodoxy and unpopular policy of a worldly church had become manifest in Germany, Holland and other portions of Europe. Men of pious purpose denounced the state churches as so many Babels, and the ministers thereof as so many priests of Baal. These enthusiastic people were styled "Fanatics," "Enthusiasts," "Anabaptists," etc. Itinerant preachers, exhorting to repentance and announcing the near approach of the kingdom of Christ, were found in every conceivable place preaching to one or more people as occasion permitted. This they did at their own peril. Church and state formed unholy league to imprison, disperse, and destroy them. The red hand of blood was raised

(1) His name at the first was written Christoph Sauer; later Saur, and still later it was anglicised into Sower.



Castle Wigenstein. Home of Prince Henry Protector of the Brethren.



Church near Laasphe, Germany, where the Sowers Worshipped.

Just what influence was exerted upon Sower by Beissel is not definitely known.

There is some evidence to show that he became a member of the Brethren church, although he is usually called a Separatist. Many writers in the *Messenger*, Almanacs, and other publications of the Brethren assert boldly and unqualifiedly that he was a member of the church. They are all mistaken, and have been led to this statement, no doubt, by confusing father and son, or through ignorance of the fact that there were *three* Sowers named Christopher, who were prominently identified with the activities of the early church.

The documentary reasons for believing that the elder Sower was a Dunker are the following:

1. Kapp says, "He emigrated with a number of Schwarzenau Dunkers, his companions in opinion."

2. Michael Eckerlin, who came to Pennsylvania with his mother and three younger brothers in 1725, moved to Lancaster county in August, 1727, and for a while adhered to the Mennonites. He liked their simplicity of dress, but "to their mode of worship," he declares, "I could never adapt myself." Then he turned to the new congregation of Dunkers, over which Conrad Beissel then acted as leader. This was before the division had occurred between the Brethren and the Beissel party at Ephrata. Here follow the words of Eckerlin: "After that I worked for Christopher Sower, who brought me to a meeting

entered the sisters' house at Ephrata, and Mrs. Sower was made subprioress of the sisterhood, and was known as Sister Marcella. She was simply a victim of the religious unrest that swept the German settlement of Pennsylvania at this time. Her case is neither remarkable nor exceptional. It was, however, unfortunate. She remained at Ephrata until 1744, in which year her son was able to induce her to return to her home in Germantown. This she did "in the middle of November, 1744."⁽¹⁾ Here a complete reconciliation occurred between husband and wife, and on June 20, 1745, she "took upon herself the household duties of my father."⁽²⁾ She lived and loved her family until, as her son says, "December 14, 1752, my dear mother has blessedly fallen asleep in heaven."⁽³⁾

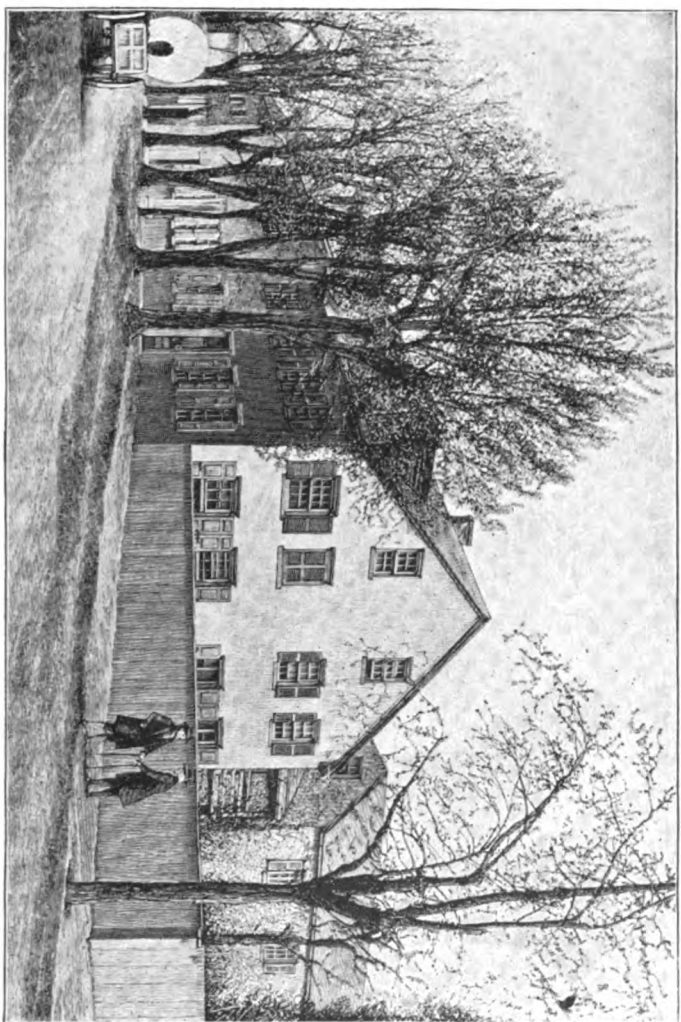
In the meantime Christopher Sower began to turn longingly to Germantown. The action of his wife was, doubtless, a cause of his desiring to leave the Conestoga country. But why did he return to Germantown? In 1729, Alexander Mack, whom he had known and loved in Europe, came to Germantown. Sower was drawn to him and so in April, 1731, father and son removed to Germantown. He purchased six acres of ground⁽⁴⁾ and began the erection of a large

(1) From her son's Diary, p. 2.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 2.

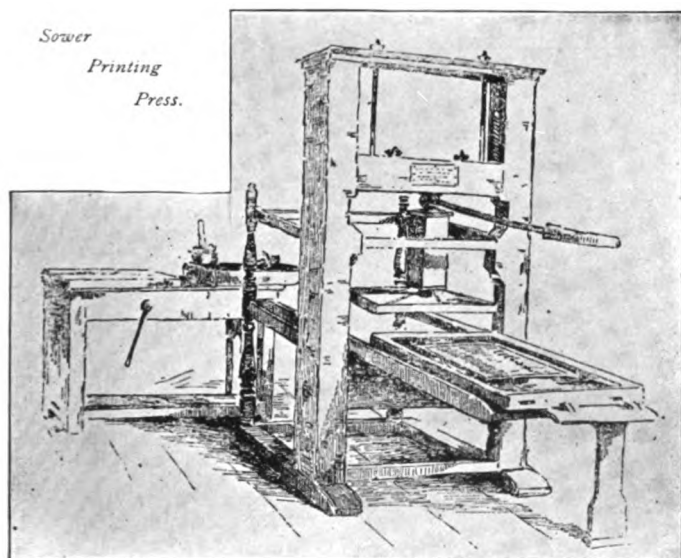
(3) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

(4) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 473. This acreage was subsequently largely increased.



Residence of Christopher Sower, First and Second. Erected 1731: on Premises now Nos. 4045 to 4053 Germantown Avenue. The Printing Establishment, Bindery, Etc., Occupied the Building in the Rear.

Bible, and that they had sold their brethren in opinion in Germantown the smaller press used by them up to this time.⁽¹⁾ If this is so the old Sower press is



historically significant and was really the property of the church until it was given to Sower for his publishing interests.

Upon it, also, the first volumes of the Berleburg Bible were printed. This Bible was much prized by the early Brethren, and those who could afford it brought copies to America or had them imported. The copy that belonged to Christopher Sower, still in

(1) Kaap's *German-American Book Printing and Book Trade*.

and black. These were very popular, especially because they were bound with interleaved blank pages upon which farmers could keep their accounts.⁽¹⁾ His



Title Page of First German Hymn Book.

almanacs contained many useful suggestions on the treatment of diseases and the use of medicinal herbs. Beginning in 1762 and continuing to 1778 the almanacs contained a complete description of all the herbs used in the whole *Materia Medica*. These articles

(1) Copies of these are in the Cassel collection now in my possession. A complete set of the Sower almanacs is in the library of Juniata College.

Der
Hoch-Deutsch
Pensylvanische
Geschicht-Schreiber,
Oder:
Sammlung
Wichtiger Nachrichten, aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich.
Erstes Stück August 20 / 1739.

Geneigter Leser

SMer andern Abgöttern, denen die grobe und subtile Welt der sogenannten Christen dienet, ist nicht der Gerinnste der Normig, Curiosität und Begierde gerne oft was neues zu Schauen, zu Hören und zu Wissen, auch zu Sagen. Diesem Achemenisschen Geist man ein Opfer zu bringen mit Ausgebung dieser Sammlung/ ist man gang nicht willens, nochweniger, sich selbst damit auszubreiten, oder Ruhm und Nutzen zu suchen, sondern weil man ehmalen versprochen, die nüglichsste und wichtigste Geschichte u. Begebenheiten bekant zumachen, und auch, weil denckwürdige Geschichte, wann sie den Menschen zu Ohren und Gesichte kommen, öfters tieffern Eindruck und Nachdenken erregen, als Dinge die da täglich vorkommen: so wolte man dann hiermit einen Anfang machen, mit solchen Zeichen dieser Zeit so in diesem und andern Welttheilen kühlich und zuverlässig gesch-

hen, in Hoffnung es werde nicht ohne einigen Nutzen, wenigst der Aufweckung und des Aufschauens bey einigen, die es lesen, schaffen. Auch möchten wohl künftigh einig Anmerkungen und der Zeit dienliche Fragen ernstlichen Gemüthern zum Nachsinnen, oder auch wohl einige aufrichtige Antwort darauf zu geben, in dergleichen Sammlung herausgegeben werden. Der Leser lebe wohl/ und brauch es wie er soll.

Vor wenig Jahren hörte man, daß der Persianer und der Türke großen Krieg hatten: kaum hatte der Persianer mit dem Türken Frieden, so hatte er mit dem groß Mogel wie gegenwärtig Krieg: und der Römische Kayser hatte kaum Stillstand mit dem König von Frankreich/ so ging er samt Moscau gegen die Türken. Anfangs victorisirten die Moscowiter an den Türken: bald wendete sich das Blatt um, und siegen die Türken, jedoch stehen sie noch beyderseits miteinander zu Felde. Also auch der Kayser mit dem Türken/

1738

First German Newspaper in America.

Sower's compositor asked what this meant, as he thought Beissel was referring to himself. Sower wrote to Beissel enquiring what it meant. Beissel replied by calling Sower a fool. Sower soon after issued a pamphlet censuring Beissel and pointing out that his name—*Conradus Beusselius*—contained the number 666 of the beast of the Apocalypse. This estrangement continued for many years. But in 1744, on the return of Sower's wife to her home, the friendship of these men was renewed and continued until Sower's death. In the private letter book of Beissel, now in my library, are three letters to Sower from Beissel in which the warmest expressions of Christian love are repeatedly and earnestly pressed upon the pious printer.⁽¹⁾

In 1739, also appeared the first number of *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber*, the first German newspaper in America. The only known copy of this first number is in my possession, and, because of its significance and rarity, I have reproduced the entire newspaper.

This newspaper, under various titles, was continued regularly until the Revolutionary War abruptly ended the Sower printing house at Germantown. The unpretentious little sheet contained four pages, of two columns each; each page was 13x9 inches. The first

(1) For a full account of this controversy see Pennypacker's *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, p. 225; Dr. Seidensticker's *Die Deutsch-Amerikanischen Incunabula* in Vol. VIII, p. 475, of *Deutsche Pioneer*; and *Chronicon Ephraimense*, p. 104.

coming and transportation of German Protestants was indulged, and orders were given to the officers at the customhouses in the parts of England, not to be sharp with the vessels of German passengers—knowing that the populating of the British colonies will, in time to come, profit more than the trifles of duty at the customhouses would import in the present time. This the merchants and the importers experienced.

They filled the vessels with passengers, and as much of the merchants' goods as they thought fit, and left the passengers' chests, &c., behind; and sometimes they loaded vessels wholly with Palatines' chests. But the poor people depended upon their chests, wherein was some provision, such as they were used to, as dried apples, pears, plums, mustard, medicines, vinegar, brandy, gammons, butter, clothing, shirts and other necessary linens, money, and whatever they brought with them; and when their chests were left behind, or shipped in some other vessel they had lack of nourishment. When not sufficient provision was shipped for the passengers, and they had nothing themselves, they famished and died. When they arrived alive, they had no money to buy bread, nor anything to sell. If they would spare clothes, they had no clothes nor shirt to strip themselves, nor were they able to cleanse themselves of lice and nastiness. If they were taken into houses, trusting on their effects and money, when it comes, it was either left behind, or robbed and plundered by the sailors behind in the vessels. If such a vessel arrived before them, it was searched by the merchants' boys, &c., and their best effects all taken out, and no remedy for it. And this last mentioned practice, that people's chests are

reprisals on them that picked their chests and forced them to pay what they owed not! and hindered yet the remedy for others. No! if they were all Englishmen who suffered so much, I would much less be bound for their good behavior.

Pray, sir, don't look upon this as a trifle; for there are many Germans, who have been wealthy people in Germany, who have lost sixty, eighty, one, two, three, four hundred to a thousand pounds' worth, by leaving their chests behind, or were deprived and robbed in the stores, of their substance, and are obliged now to live poor, with grief. If you do scruple the truth of this assertion, let them be called in the newspaper, with hopes for remedies, and your Honor will believe me; but if the Dutch (German) nation should hear that no regard is for them, and no justice to be obtained, it will be utterly in vain to offer them free schools—especially as they are to be regulated and inspected by one who is not respected in all this Province.

I hope your Honor will pardon my scribbling; as it has no other aim than a needful redressing of the multitude of grievances of the poor people, and for the preserving of their lives and property, and that the Germans may be adhered to the friendship of the English nation, and for securing the honor of your Excellency, and not for a farthing for your humble servant

CHRISTOPH SAUR,

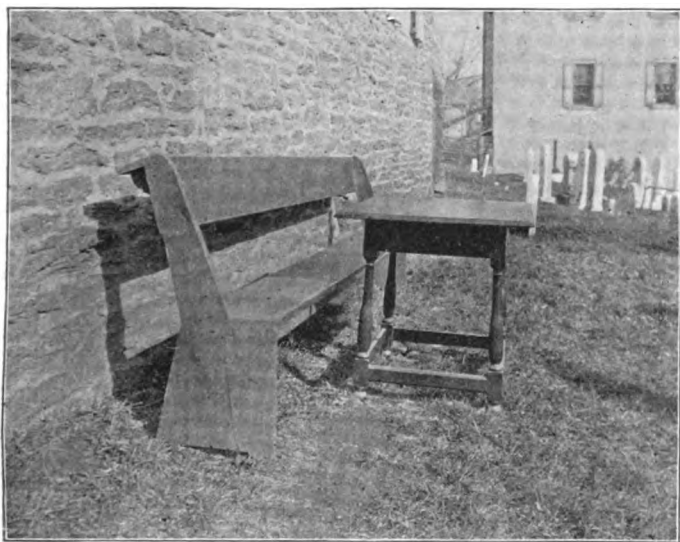
Printer in Germantown.

*The Second Christopher Sower, Elder of
the Brethren Church.*

"I was born on the 26th of September, 1721, in the town of Laasphe in Witgenstein, about six hours from

to allow his work to be printed. Not until 1769 did the pious old schoolmaster consent. Then the manuscript was lost.

After faithful search it was found, and Dock's devoted pupil became the publisher of the volume.



Desk and Bench Used in Christopher Dock's School in Germantown

It is the first book on education printed in America. It was published in 1770, with an extended preface on education by Bishop Sower.

The young man attended the services of the Brethren, heard sermons from Alexander Mack, the founder of the church, and as a curious child of fourteen saw

Weisz [White(?)], Catharine Buchmarin and Susanna Miller. He also officiated on January 1, 1749, at the marriage of his associate elder on trial to Elizabeth Neiss.

Here then is the evolution of the ministry in the second degree among the Brethren. Later in the history of the church this eldership *on trial* was modified into ministry in the second degree.

In his own house he was, as we have seen, companioned by two brethren. George Schreiber moved away from him on July 7, 1749, and Philip Weber on

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "George Schreiber". The ink is dark and the background is a light, textured paper.

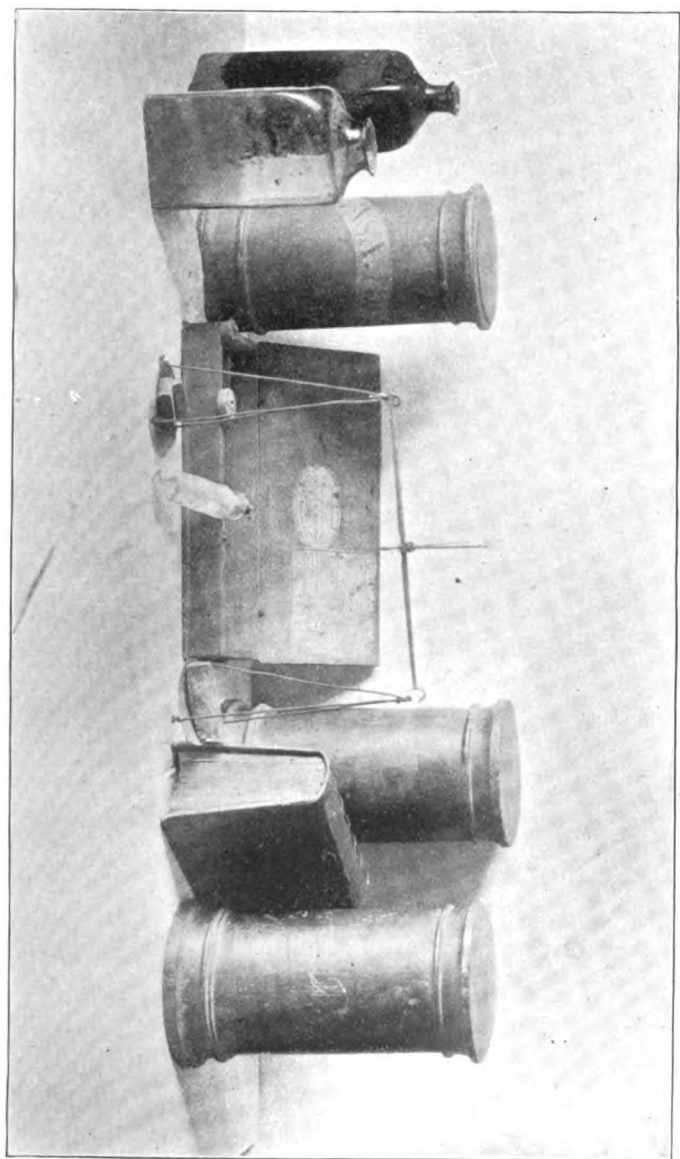
June 7, 1751. In the meantime Brother Henry Weber joined him November 24, 1749, and lived with him until June 10, 1751. This last removal was due to the fact that the young man was no longer single. On April 1, 1751, he was married to Catherine Sharpnack. Elder Alexander Mack performing the ceremony. October 12, 1752, their home was gladdened by the birth of a daughter, Christina. Two months later, December 14, 1752, he saw his mother "blessedly fall asleep in heaven."

On June 10, 1753, the congregation met in solemn services and Elder Peter Becker, now old and feeble,

laid his hands upon the head of Christopher Sower and ordained him to the eldership. At the same time Alexander Mack was likewise ordained and Henry Schlingluff was made a deacon by the same apostolic hand-laying.

The next year, 1754, his father transferred to the young man the publication of English books, the father continuing to publish during his life the German books for which his press was famous. In 1754, young Sower issued his first publication "Christian Education," which edition is now exceedingly rare. In the same year he issued "The Pennsylvania Town and Countrymen's Almanac for 1755," which he continued until after his father's death. Like all the early ministers he gave his services to the church freely and free. He gained his livelihood and amassed a fortune in the printing business and in the compounding of medicines, for he had learned the practice of medicine and the compounding of drugs from his father who was a skilled professional man.

Some would-be historians have doubted the correctness of this position and declare that Sower never did compound medicines, but simply sold drugs from his store in Germantown. But he had no store. He had a printing office, a paper mill, a type foundry, a bookbindery, an apothecary shop, and a clock factory. To fortify himself on the point that Sower was an apothecary the writer made a careful search of the old garrets in the vicinity and found ample and



Articles from Sower's Apothecary Shop. In possession of the Writer.

Such people, however, should remember that there is a God who sees the thoughts of men, that their thoughts are vain—and who is able to frustrate their plans.

They should remember, too, that many hot coals often lie hidden under the ashes, and moderate their rejoicing at this time, for their godless watchfulness will redound to their own shame and dishonor.

Meanwhile, I find myself impelled also to watchfulness, but out of love to God, and according to the power which God has given me to serve my neighbor with the gifts which He has given me.

I had, indeed, rather have earned my bread by continuing in the bookbinding business and so have avoided the burdens and responsibilities of a printer. This would have been much easier; but so long as there is no one, to whom I can trust the printing business, I find it laid upon me for God and for my neighbors' sake, to continue it, until it may please Providence to give me a helper; one of whom I feel sure, dwells in the fear of the Lord, so that he could not be moved, either for money or flattery, to print anything that would not honor God and contribute to the country's best welfare.

It shall be my constant endeavor to hold the paper up to this standard, and as I have advised the enemies of the truth to moderate their joy, so now I advise the friends and well-wishers of this good man to moderate their sorrow.

That which is gone from us comes not back again, and we will see that what Sirach says is also true. Sirach 30: 4, 5, 6.

Although I am not, nor dare I hope to be so richly

He was a preacher of great power and a pastor of marvelous insight. He was beloved by all his people, and by all his neighbors. His charity exceeded that of all his brethren, and he was known among the poor of Germantown as "The Bread Father."

As bishop or elder of the congregation he frequently officiated at marriages. We have already noted his service in this capacity at the marriage of his associate elder, Alexander Mack. In addition to this it is known that he married the following persons:

- 1749, December 7, .. Peter Leibert and Molly Neiss.
1751, June 23, Philip Weaver and Susanna Schreiber.
1751, July 15, Martin Urner and Barbara Switzer, also Peter Grauling and —.
1753, July 29, Brother — Bechtelheimer.
1755, June 29, John Demuth to a Sister Gertrude —.
1756, June 7, John Bechtelheimer and Catharine Traut; also Justus Käutzel to a Sister Helen —.
1763, June 22, Anthony Steiner and Augusta Gruber.
1763, June 26, Eberhart Gruber and Maria Christina.
1766, September 28, Frederick Diehl and Maria Hoffman.
1775, January 8, Christopher Sower⁽¹⁾ and Hannah Knorr

(1) This was the son of Elder Sower, the third Christopher, and a man of note in the church.

perhaps, ten sermons, he returned well to his retreat at Methacton.

The next day he attended services at the Skippack. This chapter from his long and useful life clearly conveys to you the wonderful energy and devotion and usefulness of Elder Sower in the church.

On January 1, 1899, the little church at Germantown was the scene of a memorable event. Through his munificence and noble devotion to his ancestor, Mr. Charles G. Sower, the widely-known publisher of Philadelphia, presented to the congregation a beautiful memorial tablet of polished brass in honor of his pious ancestor's labors in the ministry of the church. The presentation address was made by Mr. Sower. The tablet was received on behalf of the congregation by the pastor, Brother George N. Falkenstein, and, at the request of Mr. Sower, the writer delivered the memorial address on the life of Elder Christopher Sower.

Elder Sower followed the example of his father, and issued a second edition of the Holy Bible in 1763, and a third edition in 1776. In the preface to the third edition, 1776, he says, "There appears now for the third time on this American continent the Holy Bible in the so-called high German language, to the honor of the German people; in this, that no other nation can show that the Bible on this continent has been printed in their language."

The second edition, 1763, was so much in demand

With a resolution that never wavered, and an energy and capacity that were remarkable, he led the thought of the German-Americans and defended their rights against every open and secret foe.

He was the enemy of war, and against the shedding of his brother's blood he protested vehemently.

In 1758 his father was summoned to a court-martial by General Forbes for daring to denounce the expedition to Fort Duquesne. Sower promptly met the General at an Inn, "*To the Stag*," on *Lancaster Street*, in Philadelphia, and in three minutes proved to the distinguished General that he was not an enemy of the King, but an enemy of war, because war is the enemy of the Savior.

So Elder Sower was brought under the ban of the oppressors for daring to advocate, in the perilous hour of war, his unchanged hostility to war. In his Almanac of 1778, he wrote:

"Thou once so happy land; by God and Nature blessed,
And teeming with abundant joy,
But now, alas, by sin and wrong and vice depressed,
Thou seem'st to wither and to die.
O land; what art thou now? A scene of dismal woes,
To wake our pity and our tears;
Oppressed by rapine, murder and a thousand foes,
Unknown in by-gone years.
And desolation, hunger, want stalk in the wake,
Of the avenger's bloody steel.

* * * * *

Earth's pregnant fields lie waste, untouched by
Who erst, full—peaceful turned the soil;

him to find some means of escape from his embarrassment, he was in the savage grasp of the minions of the law, who thirsted more to rob him of his wealth than to honor the law they were appointed to obey as well as enforce.

Two weeks before the time given him to appear before the Magistrate he was arrested (May 25, 1778) in his home, shamefully and unlawfully abused, and deprived of an opportunity to obey the law.

He was thus in a most trying situation. Detained by the officers of the law and, moreover, unacquainted with its requirements, he was unable to obey the law; and because he did not do what he could not, his property was seized and confiscated and he was left a robbed and penniless man. True to his religion when, under so great provocation, he was reviled, he reviled not again.

Hear his own pathetic account of this crowning injustice and persecution. This account is copied from his own manuscript in the possession of Mrs. Mary Knauer, daughter of Samuel Sower, of Charlestown, Chester county, Pennsylvania:

"Having heard how a number of Quakers were punished and carried away to Virginia, and being informed that there were yet some hundreds of substantial inhabitants on the list to be taken up and secured, amongst which my name also was put down, and as there was already a beginning made and some of the millers on the Wissahickon were actually

which wounded my feet very much. On the 26th, at nine o'clock, I arrived at the camp and was sent to the Provo.

"My accusation in the *Mittimus* was an *Oppressor of the Righteous and a Spy*. On the 27th, in the morning, God moved the heart of the most generous General Muhlenberg to come to me and enquire into my affairs, and promised that he would speak to General Washington and procure me a hearing, and the next day sent me word that I should make a petition to General Washington, which I did; and, through the good hand of Providence and the faithful assistance of the said General Muhlenberg, I was permitted to go out of the Provo on the 29th day of May; but, as I was not free to take the oath to the States, I was not permitted to go hence to Germantown, as appears by the following pass, viz:

" 'Permit the bearer hereof, Mr. Sower, to pass from hence to Meduchin, not to return to Germantown during the stay of the enemy in this State, he behaving as becometh. Given under my hand at the Orderly Office this thirtieth day of May, 1778.' "

"[Signed] NICH. GILMAN,

" *Asst. Ad. General.* "

"So I went to Methacton and stayed there until the 23rd of June, when I returned to Germantown and there lived quietly until the 27th of July, when Colonel Smith and Colonel Thompson came to my house and asked me whether I had entered special bail at the Supreme Court at Lancaster. I told them, No! 'Why not?' said they. 'Because I had no notice.' 'That cannot be,' said Thompson, 'it was in the newspapers and handbills.' I told them that I had at that time been in the Provo and at Methacton, and

"Then they proceeded to sell my effects, but before the sale came on my son Daniel endeavored to stop the sale, and applied to L. Matlock and asked him whether his father should not have a hearing. He reply'd, 'Yes! but we must sell his effects first.' He then apply'd to Mr. Lewis to stop the sale till next Court, who endeavored to do it. But they had invented a lie that I or some of my people had secretly crept into the house and had destroyed all of the New Testaments, and if the sale did not go on all would be destroy'd before said Court came on. And so they persevered with the sale of my Personal Estate and rented out my houses and lands for one year and then sold them, also contrary to the Confession of the Convention in the case of forfeited Estates by which no real Estate could have been sold before my youngest Son is of age. And so they have not only broken the Fundamental rule in selling my estate, but have also published me in almost all Newspapers as a Traitor, without any cause and without ever giving me a hearing or a trial; altho. I was never gone an inch from my place of abode and their own Attorney, Mr. Bradford, has himself declared to a friend of mine that if I had not forfeited my life I had not forfeited my Estate; for they had no more right to my Estate than to my life."

Scarcely less painful was the abuse heaped upon him because of his opposition to slavery. Miller's *Staatsbote*, of 1775, contains a savage attack upon him. But he knew how to suffer and be strong. He steadily dealt herculean blows at a traffic which his

and that of Alexander Mack. It exerted a mighty influence for primitive Christianity in Colonial America.

When the fury of war had blasted his hopes and impoverished his life, he was still rich; rich in his devotion to duty, rich in the love and confidence of his friends, and rich in religious zeal.

Even in his poverty God opened to him a refuge. At Methacton the homeless and wifeless⁽¹⁾ old saint of God found a refuge in an old building, perhaps the one-room upper story of a spring house, belonging to Conrad Stam(m).

Accompanied by his devoted daughter, Catherine, he left the house of Bro. Henry Sharpnack in Germantown on April 7, 1780, and went to Methacton to die.

God touched the hearts of friends and he was given money and provisions, as follows:

Brother Henry Sharpnack loaned twenty dollars, congress.

Brother William Hanschel gave twenty dollars, congress.

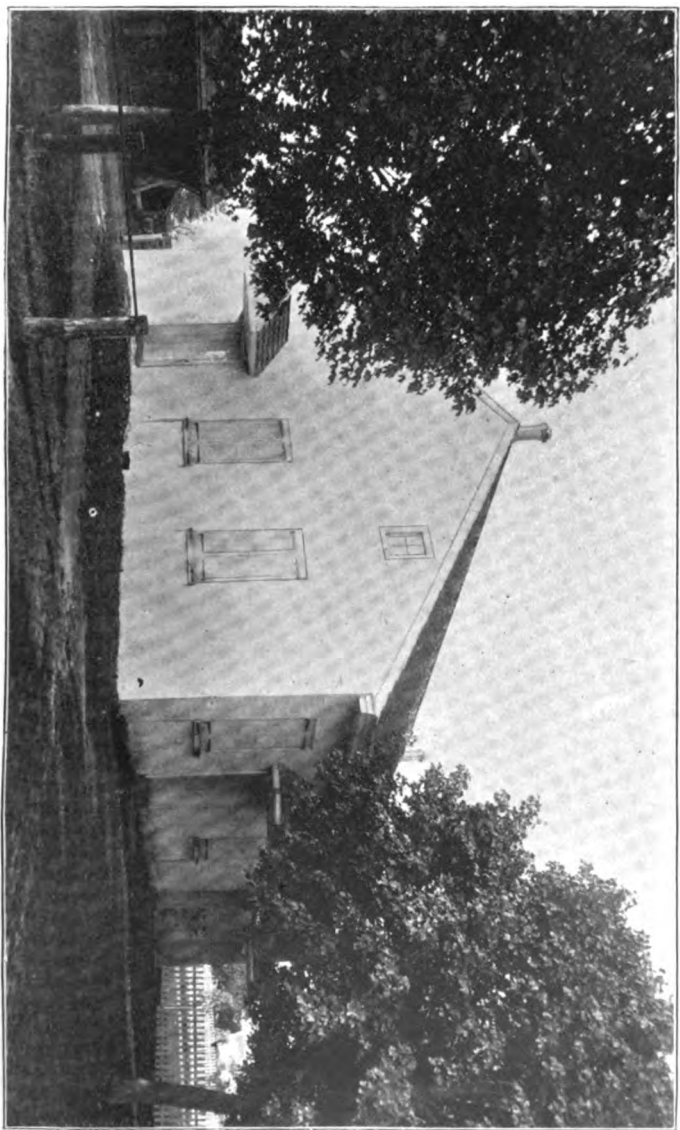
Friend Anthony Benezet gave one guinea.

Brother Fausz gave six dollars.

Friend Joseph Kretzer, in Lebanon, gave eight dollars.

Friend Jno. Wistar gave eight dollars.

(1) His wife died January 8, 1777.



Methuon Meetinghouse, Burial Place of Elder Christopher Sower.

Now breaks the earthly house entwain,
Now can this mortal frame decay:
The pilgrimage is brought to end,
Now can the spirit fly away.
The soul at last has overcome.
Through Jesus was the victory won.

Now unto Jesus will I go.
Who died for me, as mortals die;
And found for me, through pain and woe,
A place of refuge in the sky.
He has for me a better house.
In store prepared, above the sky.

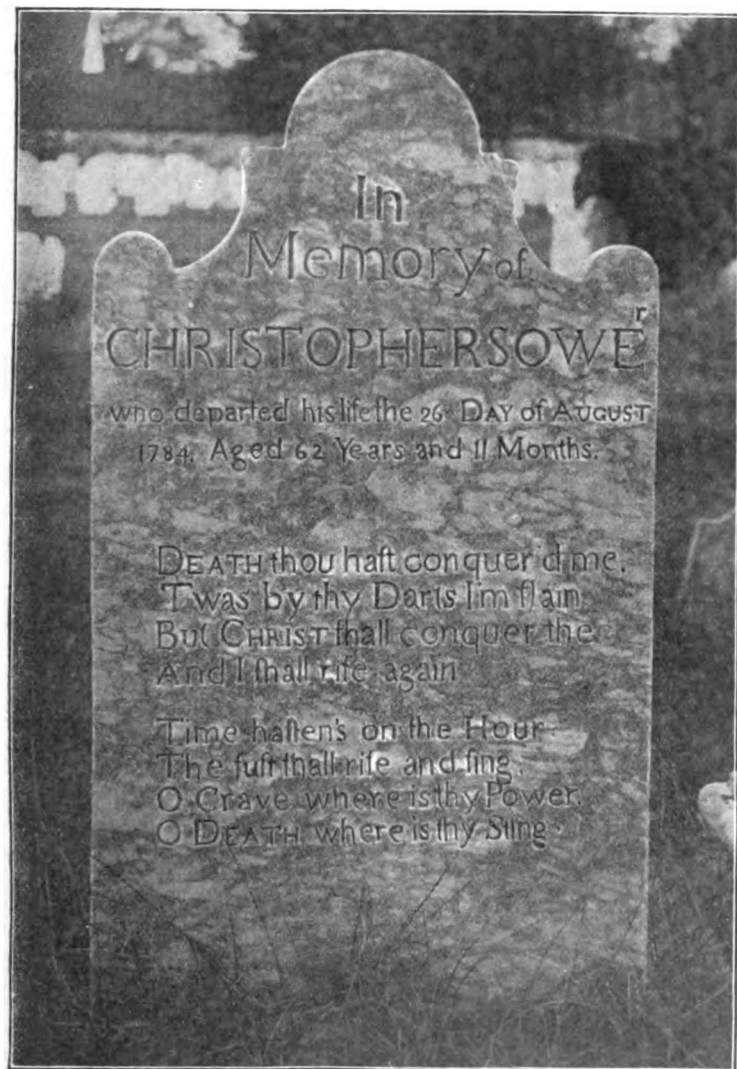
Shed not so many tears
My friends and my companions dear;
You can believe, I now am free
From every mortal care and fear.
O! look unto the Lamb once slain,
Through whom you can redemption gain.

Thy staff through life I leaned upon;
I hungered for a patient faith;
Then Jesus spoke unto my soul
From all my doubt a full relief;
Like frost, when touched at op'ning day,
By sunlight, quickly melts away.

Speak not of others' worthiness,
But only of what Christ has done;
The world, with all its vanities,
Can never save a single one,
Redemption has appeared to men
Through Jesus' grief and dying pain.

Over his body was erected a simple slab of marble,
upon which is carved in his own words a triumphant
challenge to death and an eloquent assurance of faith
in God:

"Death thou hast conquer'd me;
'Twas by thy darts I'm slain;



Gravestone of Christopher Sower.

delphia Daily Advertiser. She died March 21, 1837. They had six children,—Mary, Christopher, Priscilla, Brook Watson, Harriet, and Martha H.

3. Daniel was born October 14, 1755. He was married January 17, 1786, to Maria Seiler (Saylor), who was born October 2, 1752; died February 16, 1830. Daniel settled on a farm near Phoenixville, Pa., where he died December 27, 1818. To them were born three children,—Esther, Hannah, and Samuel.

4. Samuel was born December 17, 1757, and died on the 23rd.

5. Peter was born January 8, 1759; at eighteen he engaged in the printing business with his brother Christopher in Philadelphia. He went with his brother to New Brunswick and subsequently returned and studied medicine. He began the practice of medicine on Cat Island, British West Indies, where he fell a victim to yellow fever, 1785. He never married.

6. Catharine was born February 25, 1761, baptized⁽¹⁾ October 1, 1769, by Elder Mack, and married Samuel Harley, May 10, 1785. Her husband was a son of Rudolph and Mary Harley. Mary Harley was a daughter of Peter Becker. Thus the Becker and Sower families were united by this marriage. Catharine was a woman of unusual literary and business ability. She greatly aided her father in his business,

(1) This date is given in the great *Genealogical Chart of the Sower Family*, compiled by Charles G. Sower. But the diaries of Elders Sower and Mack do not contain it. I am inclined to think it too early.

Samuel was a noted printer and type-founder. His first press was at Chestnut Hill, now a part of Philadelphia, whence he removed, in 1794, to 71 Race Street, Philadelphia, and the next year to Baltimore, where he conducted one of the largest printing and type-foundry industries in America. He was thrice married,—Sarah Landis, Hannah Schlosser, and Elizabeth Lamotte being his successive wives. He had one child,—Maria.

The first Christopher Sower was a prolific writer. His newspaper and his almanacs contain numerous articles on such important subjects as "The Use and Abuse of Brandy," "The Indian," "War and Peace," "Remarks on Miracles," "Religion," "On Preaching," "Schools and Schoolmasters," "The Spirit of the Times," "On War," "A Protest against War," "Against Lotteries," "The High School in Philadelphia," "The Use of Fire Arms," "Against Rented Pews," "Racing and Other Disturbances," "A Plea for the Pennsylvania Hospital," "Woman's Foolish Dress," "Treatment of Immigrants," "Against Theatres," "The State Assembly," "Duty of Christians to the Indians," "Against the Moravians," and many kindred topics relating to the religious, educational, industrial, social, and civic welfare of the Germans of Colonial America.

His son was still more active in heralding right ideas to the German people. He wrote wisely and at length upon "Courts of Justice," "Religion of the Esqui-

maux," "Difference Between a Clever Person and a Fool," "Against Card-Playing," "Uses of Poverty," "Exhortation to Repentance," "The Advent of Christ," "Against Slaves and the Slave Traffic," "On War and Peace," "The End of the World," "Difference Between Natural and Spiritual Birth," "Origin of Evil," "Against Creeds," "Remarks on Health," "Popery and its Human Origin," and many other themes of like moment and current value. His influence in all these articles is exerted for the fundamental faith and practice of the church of the Brethren. In Sower's day the doctrines of the Brethren were respected because he made them known everywhere. He was an evangelist of God's truth.

He also was gifted in the composition of poetry. The poem in the 1778 Almanac has already been quoted. "*Etliche liebliche und erbauliche Lieder von der Herrlichkeit und Ehre Christi*," Peter Leibert, Germantown, 1788, contains poems by Christopher Sower, Alexander Mack, and Johannes Kelpius. In 1781 there appeared from an unknown press, perhaps that of Peter Leibert, an acrostic by Christopher Sower. An imperfect but literal translation follows:

Hymn by Christopher Sower.

(Composed on his 60th birthday, being the 26th of September, 1781.)

Christians here must suit themselves,
To the cross their narrow path;
Here by the cross, by stooping,

We must rise to heaven-heights;
He who hopes with Christ to dwell,
Must the cross remember well;
Those who there will be rewarded,
Crowns of thorns here too will carry.

Here we must in sorrow labor,
And with trials often meet;
If we would the Kingdom enter,
And with saints be clothed in white.
And we'll wear a starry crown
If we here have overcome.
Those who here in tears have sown
Shall appear before the throne.

Rightful calling, seeking, praying,
Open us the way to God;
Calling on Him in distresses,
Comfort brings in time of need.
None have been forsaken yet,
Who on God their trust have set.
They who by faith look unto Him,
Truly build upon a rock.

I was always sinful wand'ring,
Since my wisdom was but small;
Now I trust my Shepherd's leading,
Who has power over all.
His protection will provide,
Under crosses that betide.
So that I His care can trace,
In the times of deep distress.

Such love is beyond a measure,
Which around me he has thrown.
Thou, my soul, be not forgetful,
Of the mercies he has shown.
Thou art in His debt indeed,
Patiently to give him heed;
Him to serve and him to love,
While here in this world you move.

To be true was my intention,
But too often I have failed,
Year for year thou hast been waiting,
And thy patience did extend;
Till my strength was weakened,
And with self-will I was done:
And resolved henceforth to live,
As the Lord did wisdom give.

O selfishness! thou wretched folly,
Ofttimes dost thou bring distress;
May I overcome thee wholly.—
Always feel that blessedness;
Of that strong redeeming love,
And the power from above;
Me to lead in all His ways,
Ever living to his praise.

Prove me Lord and search me wholly,
Thou canst know my inner life;
Guard my heart from ev'ry folly,
Let me conquer in the strife.
O let winds that trouble blow,
Teach me better thee to know;
That upon a trial's day,
I may bear the crown away.

Here there is yet time for working,
Sternly still, the right pursue;
Very soon there will be given,
Great rewards to all the true,
Who with courage ventured on,
And could say, vain world be gone;
With thy tempting pleasures all,
Seeking us to bring to fall.

Sixty years have now been fleeting,
Of my timely staying here;
As an arrow shot off quickly,
Idleness does disappear.
Oft does it our time consume,
That we do not hurry on;

And complain when 'tis too late,
That we did not change our state.

Alas! I must feel quite lowly,
Many times lament the loss;
That so much of worldly trouble
Found much place within my breast;
And my heart did so confuse,
That of love I oft did lose;
And the work which most was needed,
Oftentimes was unattended.

Under many storms of trouble,
And temptations great and small,
God still knew how to protect me,
That I did not come to fall.
Love to me did still extend,
Wonderful and without end.
Without Him I must have perished,
In the time of great distresses.

Rejoice my soul and give thou praises,
For the patience of thy God;
Since he has by many wonders,
Kept for thee an open path.
May his great and sovereign will,
Keep me in His statutes still;
May His care me still befriend
Till my last expiring end.

died. The little orphan grew up in destitution, cared for by his brothers and sisters.

As soon as he was old enough, he was apprenticed to a jovial baker, who was also a musician. From him the young man learned to play the violin and to dance. He was much in demand at parties and at weddings, where he acted as chief musician. When he was twenty-five years of age, to the amazement of his gay friends, he was seized by the "spirit of penitence." To his friend George Stiefel he first made known his conversion, claiming it was of God and through no human instrumentality whatever.

He became a journeyman baker, was at Strasburg, and finally at Manheim, where he served under a baker named Kantebecker. Kantebecker's wife was a tyrant. Beissel called her a Jezebel, and left. His aversion to marriage, as shown in his Ephrata cloister system, is supposed to grow from his experience with this woman.

He went to Heidelberg and served with a baker named Prior. Here Beissel formed the acquaintance of many learned Pietists, including Mieg, Kirchmayer and Haller. He became a regular attendant upon the *Collegia Pietistica* and was full of zeal in the cause. His devotion to Prior, and his gratitude for Prior's assistance and protection under persecution, he never forgot.

Beissel was an expert baker. He incurred the jealousy of the other bakers in the city. They charged

ings. I shall not forget you as long as I yet shall live on this earth.

CONRAD BEISSEL,
"A stranger and pilgrim in this world. *Vale.*"

From Eberbach he fled by night to escape arrest and persecution. For a time he was in the service of a baker named Schatz, an Inspirationist. Here Beissel met the renowned John F. Rock. But he did not long enjoy their company. He at this time met many of the Brethren at Marienborn and at Schwarzenau and at Creyfelt.

Restless, discontented, and full of high ambition he joined his fortunes with two intimate friends, Stiefel and Stuntz, and the three sailed to America. They landed at Boston in 1720, and made their way directly to Germantown. Stuntz advanced money to Beissel for the voyage,—the latter being too poor to pay for his voyage. At Germantown Beissel determined to learn the weaver's trade, and so he became an apprentice to Peter Becker, the leader of the Taufers or Brethren. Here he was well treated and his heart was in part opened to the truth as the Taufers held it. In the autumn of 1721 he and Stuntz went up into the Conestoga country to live as hermits. They were evidently led to this by the influence of the followers of Kelpius, Pietists on the Wissahickon.⁽¹⁾ Here they were joined by Isaac Van Bebber, who had crossed the

(1) For an account of the Kelpianites see Sachse's *Pietists of Colonial Pennsylvania*; also Walton and Brumbaugh's *Stories of Pennsylvania*.

proselyte he soon showed signs of restlessness and of dissatisfaction. This was all the more emphasized in his life by the following influences:

1. He was, in Germany, under the influence of Pietists and Inspirationists. Church ordinances were denounced. Religious anarchy was proclaimed. The reaction from this had begun, and the mild middle ground of the Taufers could not long prevent him from moving on to absolute ritualistic religion.

2. The Kelpianites greatly aided and encouraged him in this now irresistible tendency. They especially imparted new emphasis to the mystical tendencies of his all-too-superstitious and uneducated nature.

3. The mystical teachings⁽¹⁾ of Boehme, Rock, Hochmann, and other kindred spirits drew him into religious unrest.

4. The Keithian controversy in the Quaker Society upon the sufficiency of what every man has naturally within himself for the purpose of his own salvation, led to a division in 1691. This Keithian controversy led in 1700 to the founding of the Keithian or Quaker Baptist Society. Able Noble was the founder. The first baptism occurred in 1797, and the movement spread. The first Society met at Newtown Square, the second at Pennepek, the third at Nottingham, and the fourth on French Creek in East Nantmeal township in Chester county. This last congregation was

(1) See his *Theosophical Epistles* published at Ephrata in 1735.

tive and marks the complete separation of the Beissel party from the German Baptist society. The Brethren made several attempts to reconcile him, and visited his home for that purpose, but Beissel absented himself and the efforts were in vain.

Left now to himself Beissel began a unique career. He denounced all marriage save that of "holy, quiet souls devout with Jesus alone." Some of his flock did not take kindly to the celibate doctrine. Discussion, dissension and differences arose. Beissel recognized three classes of members in his spiritual household; the Household members, or those who were married; the Solitary brethren who lived a single, chaste life; and the Spiritual Virgins, who from time to time fled to him and placed themselves under his guidance and vowed to live a pure, virgin life. To these celibates he showed marked favors. Finally, in the beginning of 1732, he called the elders of the congregation together, placed the New Testament in their hands, gave them oversight of the congregation, and left.

Eight miles away on the banks of the Cocalico⁽¹⁾ Creek lived Emanuel Eckerlin. Here Beissel once more became a hermit. Meanwhile the congregation met at Simon Landis' place and the members' quarrels were so frequent that the services were called "court meetings." In their trials they longed for a leader. Beissel was searched out and importuned to

(1) The Delaware Indians named the stream *Koch-Hulekung*, Serpent's den.



Grave of Peter Miller.

Peter Miller was a native of Oberamt Lantern, Germany. He was a graduate of Heidelberg University, a man of profound erudition, and a finished scholar. He crossed the Atlantic on the ship, *Thistle*, Colin Dunlap, Master, and landed in Philadelphia, August 29, 1730.⁽¹⁾ Rev. Jedediah Andrews says of him, "He is an extraordinary person for sense and learning. His name is John Peter Müller, and speaks Latin as readily as we do our native tongue." "He is," says Acrelius,⁽²⁾ "a learned man, understands the Oriental languages, speaks Latin, discusses theological controversies as well as other sciences."



Autograph of Peter Miller.

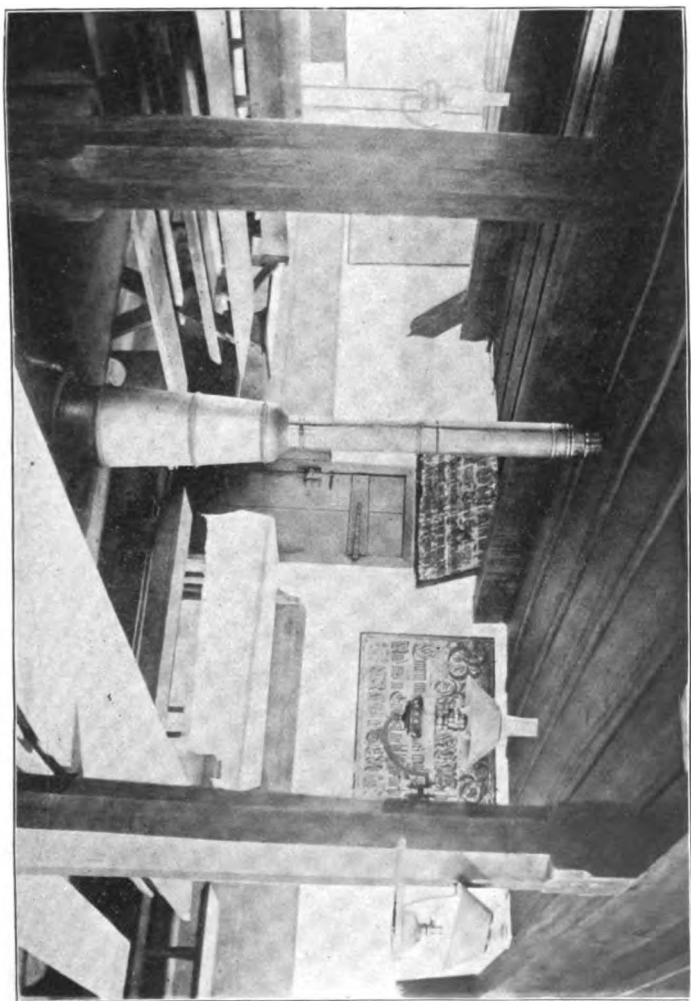
Weiser and Miller were baptized on a Sabbath day in May, 1735. The former was in and out of the society and did not prove a pliant instrument to Beissel's will. Miller, on the contrary, was a true and devoted Ephrataite till his death, September 25, 1796, and was Beissel's successor as Superintendent.

Reference has already been made to the exodus of Germantown members of the Brethren to Ephrata in 1738-39.

The society now began to erect separate and substantial houses for worship, and for the different or-

(1) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 62; also Rupp's *History of Lancaster County*, p. 229.

(2) *History of New Sweden*, p. 374.



Interior of Meetinghouse [Saar] at Ephraim.

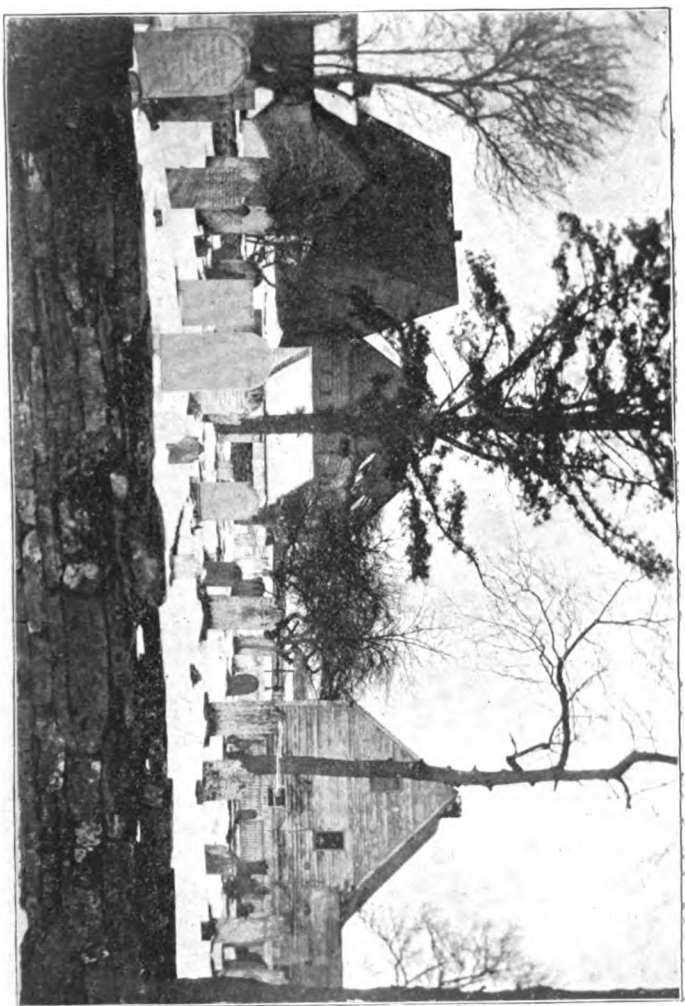
raised choir sang together a very beautiful hymn lasting about one quarter of an hour. Hereupon Peter Miller arose and read the third chapter from Isaiah. Father Friedsam renewed his queer motions as before, and his demeanor was rather ludicrous than dignified. Finally he arose, folded his hands, raised his eyes towards the ceiling and spoke of the natural blindness of the human understanding and prayed for enlightenment and God's blessing. . . . He spoke in an extremely voluble way, hastily and gesticulating wildly. Now his hands flew about him, now they were pressed to his breast. Now one was thrust to his side, now both. It also happened that he scratched his head, rubbed his nose, or cleaned it with the back of his hand. Of his congregation, which he called his Jerusalem, some became quite excited and shook their heads, others wept, others slept, etc. The sermon concluded with an Amen."

"Bethania" stood on a flat near the creek, and was cut into many small rooms, each containing a small window and a sleeping bench with a wooden block for a pillow.

"Saron" and "Saal" stood on a hill not far away. These structures were much like that of "Bethania." The sisters engaged in ornamental writing, composing hymns, weaving, spinning, and kindred industries. They also worked in the fields with the brethren. A widely current bit of nonsense is quoted by Seidensticker⁽¹⁾ and also by Sachse⁽²⁾ who says, "Sister Pauli-

(1) History of Ephrata, *The Story of an American Monastery*.

(2) *The Sabbath Keepers in Pennsylvania*, p. 31.



Graveyard, Sisters' House and Meetinghouse at Ephrata.



House of Conrad Beissel at Ephrata.

of Young People's Meetings date to the very inception of the Brethren church.

Peter Miller was in many respects a remarkable man. To him is due in large measure the credit of holding to moderation and consistency⁽¹⁾ in the society. His piety was proverbial. He came to Ephrata in 1735, and remained for sixty-one years. From 1768 to 1796 he was the Superintendent of the Society. His rule was moderate. His devotion to learning was phenomenal. He was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society, April 8, 1768, and read before it a paper on the prosaic subject, "The best time to plant peas that they might be spared from the ravages of the insects." He was a mild-mannered man, and, in spite of his great learning he was not the equal of Beissel as leader of the mystic members of the Ephrata Society. With his death, decadence rapidly set in, and Ephrata to-day is merely the ghost of the activity of the eighteenth century.

Around one family of the Ephrata Society hangs the fringe of a romance more inspiriting than the dreams of poet or novelist. Michael Eckerlin was a Counsellor of Strasburg and a Catholic. Touched by the message of truth from the lips of some pious preacher on his way to Switzerland, Eckerlin resigned his office, left his church, fled with his wife and four sons to Schwarzenau, was baptized by Alexander Mack

(1) For a touching incident in his life see Walton and Brumbaugh's *Stories of Pennsylvania*, p. 70.

ness insight of Israel Eckerlin gradually won him the support of the members and the jealousy of Beissel. Finally an open rupture occurred. Beissel resigned the superintendency in a fit of anger, and for nine months Israel Eckerlin was the head and front of the Society. Eckerlin eventually wearied of this friction between himself and Beissel and in September, 1744, accompanied by his brother Samuel,⁽¹⁾ Alexander Mack, and Peter Miller, he made a journey to Rhode Island. Upon his return the old feud broke out afresh. At an election for Prior, Israel Eckerlin was named as his own successor. Beissel lost his self-control and declared that in that event he would resign as superintendent. His threat was taken in earnest. His resignation was accepted, Israel Eckerlin was made his successor.

Then began a reign of intrigue and of bitterness, Peter Miller and Gabriel Eckerlin secretly sided with Beissel, who gave them a written authority "to act when they thought it best to act." They took advantage of this to raise a rebellion against Israel. Finally at a council he was ordered to leave the monastery and live in the fulling-mill.

At this juncture Samuel took an active part in the discussion and urged Israel to leave Ephrata for good and all. On September 4, 1745, Israel Eckerlin, his brother Samuel, and young Alexander Mack solemnly

(1) Samuel Eckerlin was married. His wife died in 1733. Her death is the fifth recorded in the Register of the Ephrata Community.

CHAPTER XII.—ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF ANNUAL MEETING.

IN the beginning the church had no representative body and no general conference. The congregational unit was maintained, and frequent visitations from one congregation to another preserved the spirit of unity. There is no evidence of a need for a general conference from the membership. But there is abundant evidence to prove that Annual Meeting was imposed upon the church by influences from without. Annual Meeting was created as a means of defense and as a means of edification. It is a distinct creation of a very remarkable movement among the German sects of Pennsylvania, known as the "Pennsylvania Synods of 1742."

On December 24,⁽¹⁾ 1741, Count Zinzendorf, the head of the Moravian church, arrived from Europe at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. At this time Zinzendorf had resigned⁽²⁾ his bishopric in the Moravian church in order, as he declares in an address, delivered in Herrendyk, August 6, 1741, "that I might proclaim the message of the death and blood of Jesus, not with human ingenuity, but with divine power, unmindful of personal consequences to me. . . . I cannot with my testimony confine myself to *one* denomination;

(1) Dec. 13, old style.

(2) He laid down his episcopal office, June, 1741.

Antes and others to all the sects of the province whom they wished to unite, inviting them to a general synod to be held in Germantown, Jan. 12, 1742. (New Year's Day, old style.) Thus began the famous Pennsylvania Synods of 1742,—seven in all were held in the above year. The minutes were published by Benjamin Franklin. The first one bears the title:

"Authentische / Relation / von dem / Anlass, Fortgang und Schlusse / Der am 1sten und 2ten Januarii Anno 1742 / In Germantown gehaltenen / Versammlung / Einiger Arbeiter / Derer meisten Christlichen Religionen / und / Vieler vor sich selbst Gott-dienenden Christen-Menschen / in Pennsylvania; / Aufgesetzt / In Germantown am Abend des 2ten obigen Monats. / Philadelphia, / Gedruckt und zu haben bey B. Franklin. /"

The introductory remarks of this Synod will best show the motive and purpose in the minds of its projectors:

"Heinrich Antes and several other lovers of liberty in this country had desired many years ago that not so much evil should be spoken and written of their fellow beings without evidence, because by this means the cause is never furthered. The opportunity to do some good is always cut off beforehand. They only waited for the favorable time and hour, and now they thought the time had come. Because they not only noticed a desire among various people to know one another more accurately so as not to need to fear a shadow, but with greater certainty they desired to avoid what is harmful. They were even requested (by some) to take the matter in hand. Therefore, Heinrich Antes wrote letters to all and each representative and worker in the various organizations where he and

4. *Mennonite*: John De Türk (Oley).
5. *Schwenkfelder*: C. Weigner.
6. *Siebtentäiger*: Prior Onesimus (Israel Eckertlin), John Hildebrand, Henry Kalklöser.
7. *Separatists*: J. A. Gruber, Theobald Endt, Conrad Matthäi.
8. *Hermit*: J. G. Stieffel.
9. *Moravians*: Count Zinzendorf, John Jacob Müller (Secretary of the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Synods), Bishop David Nitschmann, Andrew Eschenbach, Pyrlæus, Büttner, Rauch, and others.

In addition to the above were the following, whose denomination is not named:

Cornelius Weygand and Christopher Meng, from Germantown.

Adam Schaues, from Frederick Township (secretary of the 2nd Synod).

John Kooker, Worcester Township.

Christian Kintzy, John Bartley (Bartele), Jacob Vetter, and John Herpein, from Oley.

G. Merckel, from Skippack.

Heinrich Hollstein, from Falckner's Swamp.

Christian Baus, from Skippack.

Zinzendorf declares that above one hundred persons attended these Synods. He further declares:⁽¹⁾ "I was neither the author nor adviser (*suasor*) of these

(1) *Naturelle Reflexionen*, pp. 194 et seq.

gation, and a prominent delegate at the Synods—especially the one at Oley:

"Count Zinzendorf and many of his Brethren came into the country and occasioned a great stir, especially by his conferences. And because all denominations were invited to them, I too was deputed by my Superintendent⁽¹⁾ to attend them. When I arrived at the conference, which was held at Oley, I found there some of our Baptists (Tunkers), Seventh Day men, Mennonites and Separatists.

"The Count himself was president, and for three days I heard queer and wonderful things there. After my return home I went to my Superintendent and said that I looked upon the Count's conferences as snares, for the purpose of bringing simple-minded and inexperienced converts back to infant baptism and church-going, and of erecting the old Babel again. We consulted with each other what to do, and agreed to get ahead of the danger, as some Baptists had already been smitten with this vain doctrine, and to hold a yearly conference, or as we called it, a Great Assembly, and fixed at once the time and place. This is the beginning and foundation of the Great Assemblies of the Baptists."⁽²⁾

This, then, is the beginning of our Annual Meeting. The dangers to be met were so present that the time agreed upon must have been soon after the Oley Synod, which was held in John de Türk's house on February 21-23, 1742. No doubt the time agreed

(1) Martin Urner, first Bishop at Coventry.

(2) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 245.

arise. This was prevented by "a worker of the community of Ephrata." This worker doubtless was Prior Onesimus (Israel Eckerlin) whom Zinzendorf honored with a seat by his side.⁽¹⁾ Eckerlin deplored the waste of time that would result if all personal grievances and individual opinions were discussed at length. As a result of Eckerlin's remarks, it was agreed that a committee from all the different denominations should hear all questions and decide what ones should come before the Synod; and, further, that questions should be considered in the name of the congregation bringing the question and not in the name of the person aggrieved.

These two decisions evidently gave precedent for our Standing Committee and for our manner of sending queries to Annual Meeting.

The second day's sessions opened with prayer and the hymn, "Christ, Thou Lamb of God, Thou who bearest the world's sins, give us thy peace."

Then followed the discussion of the following queries:

QUERY I.—Is it not an adherence to the creature when we make fellowship, and is not this at least to be provided for?

Unanimous Reply.—We adhere to creatures from the inclinations of the flesh, or by reason of selfish interests or fear and this adherence belongs to the works of the flesh. But the adherence of the children of

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 149.

He, it appears, was to act as arbitrator of all such differences and answer to the next Synod for his decisions.

QUERY VI.—How is it to be ascertained whether those who are delegated to this council of brethren are of God?

Unanimous Reply.—The written testimony of each community within itself is sufficient, and as soon as such testimony has been examined no other inquiry shall be made.

QUERY VII.—What are the main points to which all must agree to enable us to be present at this council of Brethren?

Unanimous Reply.—We believe and unanimously confess that no one else could have saved us from eternal death, save our Lord and God, Jesus Christ alone, by His blood. We believe that He *must* die for the world; not that any one in heaven or in earth could have constrained Him to do it; but because there was no other means for us in heaven or in earth. His compassion for our misery constrained Him to it.

The Father, who loved His only-begotten Son, especially because the Son willed to sacrifice His life for the world, before there had yet been a world, had for this purpose given Him away from His arms. He has given Him for the whole world; and Jesus is, therefore, called not only the Savior of believers, and the atonement for their sins, but also for the sins of the whole world and the Savior of all men. . . .

Every one remaineth dead in sin, except he be called to life by Christ. Every one must be regenerated. But when and in what manner, is known only to the Lord. . . .

A preliminary meeting was held on the way at the Skippack, in order to open the way for a fuller delegation of Mennonites. At the opening session the discussions grew violent and it was found expedient to allow no question to come up which was not selected by lot. The manner of using the lot was as follows: The delegate desiring to submit a query stood before the entire synod. Two tickets were placed upon the table, upon one was written "aye," upon the other "nay." These words were placed on the under side of the tickets; and, if the delegate drew "nay," it was taken as a sign that it was not at this time expedient to consider his query. If the "aye" was drawn, the query was presented and an answer formulated.

Twenty-seven queries were presented and answered, the most important ones being as follows:

QUERY I.—Who may in the future attend this conference?

Unanimous Reply.—Delegates of all denominations; the ministers of all denominations; a few special persons, *e. g.*, Henry Antes, J. G. Stieffel, C. Weigner, Conrad Matthäi, John Bartley, and such others as may be invited by the conference hereafter; and the delegates whose names are attached to the proceedings of the first synod; a few special ones from the immediate community in which the synods are held.

QUERY IV.—What is the real object of our being together?

Unanimous Reply.—The proper object of this assem-

nual meeting (Great Assembly) of the Tunkers alone.⁽¹⁾

This was a remarkable synod. Zinzendorf proposed to read a letter from the Ephrata Society regarding baptism. A violent disturbance arose and a member from Ephrata cited the fifth query of the second synod.⁽²⁾ This caused some embarrassment and a postponement of business for some time.

At this juncture a "Quaker woman-teacher" asked the synod permission to speak, and her proper request was granted. The minutes testify that "she spoke only true and reasonable words, and as we were all expecting comfort, she was to us a Hannah. She spoke of Him (Luke 4) who is at the same time Creator, Redeemer, Lord and Servant, as she said. We felt at peace during her short discourse; and when, with womanly humility and modesty, she left us, we were again in a condition to continue our proceedings."

Andrew Eschenbach was ordained to the undenominational church at Oley. This ordination was conducted by Bishop David Nitschmann, a Moravian. Christian Henry Rauch was also ordained a missionary to the Indians, also Gottlob Büttner and J. Christopher Pyrlæus; the latter, minister-elect to the Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia.

Then followed a proceeding that caused the

(1) See page 476.

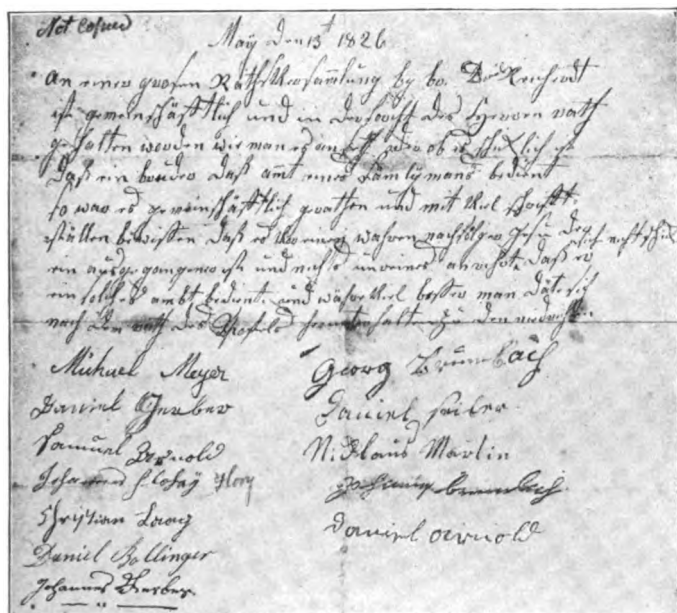
(2) See page 484.

Church of God in the Spirit." It was their duty to select two worthy men from the children of God in this country, keep the selection a profound secret, and require these men, known only to the Trustees, to prevent as much as was in their power, this spiritual union from being dissolved. In case the two chosen should become known it was the duty of the Trustees to remove them, and appoint in their stead others who were not known. Just what was the result of this action can never be known. But that it did not accomplish much is evident from the fact that the Mennonites, Schwenkfelders and most of the Tunkers withdrew at the close of this third synod and were not at the subsequent sessions.

To add to the confusion Count Zinzendorf at a private meeting of the delegates, at the opening of the synod, expressed his opinion about the character of many persons, in which expression he was at times right, at others wrong. The result was division of feeling and diversity of opinion. This was followed by a complaint against Zinzendorf. There followed a violent debate and Zinzendorf was obliged to resign the chairmanship of the Conference. A Scotch-Irish brother, who could not speak in German, then took the meeting in charge and delivered a scathing address against the secret enemies of Jerusalem. Andrew Eschenbach was then elected chairman and the synod continued for three days.

But the end of possible union had come. The

annually in a great school in which the leaders taught to all the members the ordinances as the church had



Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1726.(1)

(1) May 13, 1825.—During a great meeting at the house of Brother Daniel Reichardt it has been taken council how in the fear of the Lord it is regarded, and if it is proper, that a brother should serve in the office of an Assemblyman, and it was generally decided and with many texts proven that it is not fit for a true follower of Christ, who is a "gone-out one" and touches nothing unclean, that he should fill such an office; and it would be better to do according to the counsel of the Apostle and cling to humility.

MICHAEL MEYER,	JOHANNES GERBER,
DANIEL GERBER,	GEORG BRUMBAUGH,
SAMUEL ARNOLD,	DANIEL SEILER,
JOHANNES FLORY,	NICHOLAS MARTIN,
CHRISTIAN LONG,	JOHANNES BRUMBAUGH,
DANIEL BOLLINGER,	DANIEL ARNOLD,

ANNUAL MEETING.—Where Held Before 1830.

*1742, Coventry (?) Pa.	1804, Pipe Creek, Md.
*1743-75, ———.	1805, ———
1777, Conestoga, Pa.	*1806, ———
1778, Pipe Creek, Md.	*1807, ———
1779, Conestoga Pa.	*1808, ———
*1780, Conestoga, Pa.	*1809, ———
1781, Conestoga, Pa.	1810, Antietam Meetinghouse.
1782, ———	*1811, ———
1783, ———	1812, ———
*1784, ———	1813, Coventry, Pa.
1785, Big Conestoga, Pa.	1814, Pipe Creek, Md.
*1786, ———	1815, White Oak, Pa.
*1787, Pipe Creek, Md.	*1816, ———
1788, ———	1817, ———
1789, Great Conewago, Pa.	1818, ———
1790, Coventry, Pa.	1819, Great Conewago, Pa.
†1791, Germantown (?) Pa.	1820, Conestoga, Pa.
*1792, ———	1821, ———
1793, ———	1822, Near Canton, Ohio.
1794, Shenandoah, Va., (Oct. 30.)	*1823, ———
*1795, ———	*1824, ———
*1796, ———	1825, Morrison's Cove, Pa.
1797, Black Water, Va. (Au- tumn).	†1826, Dan'l Reichard's, Wash- ington Co., Md.
1798, Little Conewago, Pa.	1827, Dan'l Shoemaker's, Lan- caster Co., Pa.
1799, Pipe Creek, Md.	1828, Bro. Gungle's, York Co., Pa.
1800, ———	1829, George Royer's, Antie- tam.
*1801, ———	‡1830, Pipe Creek, Md.
*1802, ———	
1803, ———	

In addition to the published minutes of Annual Meeting of 1815, as recorded in *Minutes of Annual*

* No minutes.

† Minutes supplied in this volume.

‡ From 1831 to 1836, place not known; for place each year thereafter see *Classified Minutes*, p. 398.

[illegible]

[illegible]

11

Don Lorenzo - 3rd.

Jacob Danneberg

Gausif Saima

Johann Friedrich

George Hall

June 14th 1898

Confid Bramley

No. General Services

Jan 1st

Amelanchier *fl.*

Tamias aureus

London 1848

Jack & Lina

Thurs. 14. 1870

Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1780.

This flight and all its attendant excitement was in the territory most densely populated by the Tunkers. It is refreshing and comforting to know that in this trying hour, when the peace principle was put to the crucial test, the Annual Conference of 1815 met and calmly and heroically reaffirmed the doctrine so dear to the church from the beginning.

It is greatly to be regretted that the names of the delegates signing the early minutes have not in all cases been preserved. Before 1837, only three Standing Committees are named,—those of 1785, at Big Conestoga Meeting; 1790, on the Schuylkill (Coventry church, and not Schuylkill County, Pa., as given in *Classified Minutes*; p. 398); 1799, at Pipe Creek, Md. The names of these committees are important. They may be the means of tracing genealogies; and they do enable the members to-day to know the leaders of the early days. I have no doubt that the first meeting, 1742, was attended by many men who received baptism at the hands of Alexander Mack, and that it was presided over by Martin Urner, who called it, and whose sterling qualities of head and heart made him one of the noblest leaders in the early church. The following names are added in the hope that it may be the commencement of a search which shall in the end give us the complete list of Standing Committees from the beginning:

1789—Daniel Letterman, Martin Urner, Jacob Danner,
Heinrich Danner, Johannis Funk, Jacob Stoll,

Heinrich Näff, Conrad Brumbach, Nathaniel Schreiber, Daniel Utz, Andreas Eby, Samuel Gerber, Herman Blässer, Jacob Läschet, Abraham Overholtzer.

1810—Heinrich Danner, Wilhelm Staber, David Long, Martin Gerber, Johannes ———, Peter Keyser, Nicholas Martin, Herman Blässer, Christian Long, Mathias Schneider, Jacob Künsel, Christian Hüber, Georg Prize, Daniel Staber.

1814—Samuel Gerber, Benjamin Bauman, Georg Prize, Daniel Staber, Nicholas Martin, Jacob Beshor, Samuel Arnold, Martin Gerber, David Plantz, Johannis Eby, Christian Long, Johannis Schleifer, David Long, Daniel Gerber, Michael Etter, Heinrich Göbel, Herman Blässer, Georg Petry, Daniel Arnold, David Ulbach, Johannis Diel, Jacob Schönfield, John Prize, Isaac Long.

1815—Johannes Zug (?), Georg Prize, Samuel Gerber, Jacob Stoll, Herman Blässer, Nicholas Martin, Daniel Stober, Georg Petry, Daniel Gerber, Benjamin Buschou (?), Michael Schlothauer, Valentine Balschbach, John Prize, Johannis Eby, Andreas Mayer.

1819—Daniel Nober, Christian Long, Jacob Mohier, Benjamin Bauman, Samuel Arnold, Daniel Gerber, Daniel Seiler, Johannis Glück, Abraham Gerber, Johannis Gerber, Michael Pfantz, David Englar, Jacob Prize, Johannes Staufer, Benjamin Eby, John Trümmer, Heinrich Lescher, Peter Aschenbach, Heinrich Etter, David Vogel-sanger, Jacob Hallinger, Friedrich Klein, Daniel Jund, Philip Englar, Daniel Reichardt.

1826—Michael Meyer, Daniel Gerber, Samuel Arnold,

Johannes Flory, Christian Long, Daniel Bollinger, Johannes Gerber, George Brumbaugh, Daniel Seiler, Nicholas Martin, Daniel Arnold, Johannes Brumbaugh.

In a letter dated at Creyfelt in Germantown, March 11, 1775,⁽¹⁾ Elder Alexander Mack writes to Elder John Price on the Skippack as follows:

“In Jesus the lover of our true life! Heart’s much beloved brother, I have duly received thy dear little letter, but I cannot know yet if I shall be able to come to the next Great Meeting. I have been speaking to Brother Christopher Sower, to ask if he meant to go. He then had no mind to go, but if I should succeed to persuade him I would gladly stay home myself this time, according to the body, but according to the spirit I would be there in heart-felt love and well-wishing. But if it should happen that he insists on his refusal to go, and if it should be convenient for me to go, I would first like to have his own and the Brethren’s consent before starting on the journey. . . .”

This letter shows that an Annual Meeting was held in 1775 at some point remote from Germantown. Brother Price desired company on the long journey and the reply shows under what conditions Brother Mack was willing to go. That he offers to stay at home “this time” is evidence of his frequent attendance prior to 1775; and his Christian spirit in yielding to Brother Sower is a noble example of Christian love.

(1) Original MS. in Cassel Library, now the property of the writer.

democratic meetings held by the church. Every member is not only welcome but urged to be present. Every member has unlimited privileges here to present all questions which may be regarded of value

In diesem 1795ten Jahr hat auf die Monathe
Sonstags Versammlung wieder schon Anfang genommen
obwohl überordentlich viele in Germantown stille gelegen
unvergleichlich christliche Menschen, haben diese Monathe
Sonstags Versammlung gleichsam wieder aus dem Schlaf
erweckt, eine von den christlichen Menschen der Gesellschaft
maßen im geistlichen Leben stehen; so stehen
noch gesalbtenen christlichen Menschen. Mal diese
Vorgeschalt, von welchen man nicht, ja von denen das sie
nicht notwendig sagen zu überlegen, um zu zeigen
zu überzeugen. Es ist aber dies ungenügend zu sein
wäre es aber nicht anders. Es ist nicht anders
Vorgeschalt, und auf derartigen anderen. Es ist nicht anders
stehen, also das es den ungenügend gemüthlich nicht zu zeigen
als unbedingt selbst aufstellen, dessen andere der gut
sind, eine andere Zeit zu zeigen, und in der Zeit
die auf den 2. des Sonstags in jedem Monat Monathe

Record of Monthly Council.

to the members. The whole negative administration of the church is here conducted and every member may discuss at length the rulings of the officers in charge as well as the business presented. Here, too,

with telling effect, the church agrees upon its plans of active Gospel work. The council meeting is a blessed necessity. Its origin dates perhaps with the organization of the church. Business meetings were held as soon as the Germantown church was organized in 1723, and have been conducted ever since. In many of the early congregations these meetings were held at the close of the public services on the Lord's Day. But Germantown, the mother church in America, seems to have held her council meetings upon some Thursday of each month.

It is of interest in this connection to note the following, from the pen of Alexander Mack:

"In this 1791st year the monthly Thursday meeting was resumed. It had been omitted in Germantown for over twenty years. Various important causes have contributed to cause this meeting to awaken from its long sleep.

"One of the most important causes can here be recorded for the future: It often happened after the religious meeting that things were brought up which one could not call unfit for consideration, in order to avoid giving offense; yet it was apparent that the occasion was not suitable as for lack of time things could not be properly presented, much less sufficiently discussed, so that for untried minds the effect was more injurious than edifying.

"It was, therefore, agreed to choose some other time for this meeting, and so the choice fell upon the second Thursday in each month."⁽¹⁾

(1) Original MS. in Cassel Library, now the property of the writer.

CHAPTER XIII. — ON THE DOCTRINE AND GROWTH OF THE CHURCH.

1. The Philadelphia Church and Elder Peter Keyser.

In 1813 the church of the Brethren was organized in Philadelphia with Elder Peter Keyser in charge. Meetings were held for four years in a schoolhouse at the northwest corner of Fourth and Vine Streets. March 19, 1817, the congregation decided to erect a meetinghouse. They purchased for four thousand, two hundred and fifty dollars a lot on Crown Street, below Callowhill, from Jesse Stellwagen. The lot fronted forty-five feet on Crown Street and extended back eighty-six feet to Fourth Street. The committee in charge of the erection of the house of worship was James Lynd, George Gorgas, Jacob Zeigler, James Gorgas, and John Rink.

The building was ready for worship and dedicated on Sunday, October 12, 1817. Elder Keyser preached three sermons on that day, from Hebrews 9: 1-5; Luke 19: 46; and Acts 26: 22, 23. The meetings were largely attended. On March 5, 1818, Elder Keyser presented to the congregation a beautiful pulpit Bible.

The first accessions to the new congregation were Christian Flower and Catharine Evans. They were baptized on Easter day, April 6, 1817, by Peter Keyser. The church has passed through many vicissi-

tudes and at last seems on a firm and prosperous basis. The new meetinghouse at Dauphin and Carlisle Streets is an admirable building. T. T. Myers is the minister in charge. This congregation maintained a mission at Lehigh Avenue and Twenty-sixth Streets for a number of years, and on November 27, 1898, a fine new meetinghouse was dedicated. The writer preached the dedicatory sermon from Psalm 122: 1. This is known as the Geiger Memorial Church, in grateful recognition of the unselfish devotion to the cause of the Lord of Sister Mary S. Geiger, who, in addition to numberless other benefactions, purchased the ground and erected this place of worship and an adjoining parsonage at her own expense, and presented it entire to the congregation. The Lord bless her richly as she has blessed His people richly.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Peter Keyser". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Elder Peter Keyser deserves more than a passing notice. He is descended from a noted Mennonite family. His father, the first of the name to join the Brethren, was baptized by Elder Mack, October 5, 1769. He was a tanner by occupation and his son Peter learned the trade with his father. The young man was born November 9, 1766, and was baptized by Elder Martin Urner, September 25, 1784.

He possessed unusual aptitude for learning, and at an early age could repeat much of the Bible from memory. The power to do this was early recognized and acted as a stimulus to do more. As he stood at the hopper of his father's bark mill he fastened the Bible to a shelf above the hopper. Thus in his daily toil he memorized almost the entire Bible.

He was called to the ministry in 1785, and ordained elder, August 2, 1802, and died May 21, 1849, in the house in which he had been born.

The remark was once made by the Rev. Dr. Philip F. Mayer that, if by some accident, every copy of the Scriptures should be destroyed, it could be restored so long as Peter Keyser lived.

He was an unusually tall man, being six feet and three inches. In addition to his marvelous memory he was eloquent. He drew large audiences and was regarded as one of the great preachers of his time.

He was blind for many years. This did not prevent him from regularly and acceptably preaching. His custom was to name a chapter, and repeat it *verbatim*, and then preach an eloquent discourse. When others in reading the Bible made mistakes he would at once correct them. He was for some years a wholesale lumber merchant in Philadelphia, and in his extensive business he never sued and never was sued. Elder Keyser was a useful citizen, serving as Secretary of the Board of Health, Secretary and Treasurer of the

Society for the Alleviation of the Miseries of Public Prisons, and School Director.

2. Elder George Miller.

Elder George Miller was a unique character. He frequently set out on Saturday staff in hand and walked fifteen miles to the place of meeting. Next day, after preaching he would walk home again without waiting to eat his dinner. He was a farmer and a weaver. He usually, in council meetings, allowed all others first to speak. He then gave a final statement of the case and usually had the satisfaction of seeing his judgment prevail.

On one occasion a man stole an ox from him. Elder Miller knew who was guilty. But he did not, on account of his religious principles, have the man arrested. Neighbors, however, lodged information against the man and had him sent to jail in Lancaster. It was in the dead of winter, and Elder Miller, fearing the man had no bed in the jail, walked to Lancaster, twenty miles, and offered to provide a bed for the thief! He died in September, 1798, aged seventy-six years and nine months, and is buried on the farm on which he lived, near the old road which leads from Hummelstown to Elizabethtown.

3. Churches in Maryland and the South.

The Antietam church was organized in 1752. William Stover was the first elder. His parents were

not members. He was born about 1725 and died in 1795. He was assisted in the ministry for some time by George Adam Martin and was succeeded by his son Daniel Stover who died October, 1822. This church extended over a large territory and was a midway point for emigration from Eastern Pennsylvania to Virginia and the West. This church was located in the famous Conococheague country. It was the scene of many Indian depredations during the French and Indian Wars and during the Revolution. The early members suffered greatly, and some were ruthlessly murdered. There was no meetinghouse for the congregation until 1798, when Price's church was erected. This congregation has had four Annual Meetings within its borders, 1810, 1829, 1847 and 1866, and has been from the first a marvelously energetic and active body of workers in the Lord's cause.

4. Early Meetings in Baltimore.

In a letter to his sister Catharine Harley, Samuel Sower, writing from Baltimore City, November 10, 1813, says, "It surprises me not a little that the few Dunker families have grown to such numbers. They seem to be in great earnest, for they have started prayer meetings in private houses. They are devising means for getting an English preacher of their own faith. I do not believe it would be a difficult matter for them to supply the means for his support." From this it is evident that prayer meetings were common in

the early church and that a supported ministry was regarded with favor for the city work.

5. Germantown Love Feasts.

The congregation at Germantown held love feasts at irregular dates. From Elder Sander Mack's Diary I learn that a love feast was held on August 2, 1792, after having been discontinued (lain still) for fourteen months and six days.

December 19, 1793, "The Lord has again granted us a blessed love feast after having been discontinued for fifteen months, seventeen days."⁽¹⁾ At this meeting eight recently baptized ones communed for the first time.

The next love feast was held on the 9th of October, 1794, and "Beti Dünkcl was with us for the first time."

December 24, 1795, "Again the bread of Communion was broken at the Lord's Supper in German-town after fourteen months and fifteen days had elapsed." The next love feast was held on January 12, 1797.

This was followed in the same year, December 28, by another blessed Communion at which "the young Brother Haas and the young Brother William Young were for the first time, as they were baptized in this year."

March 21, 1799, "Again a love feast and bread-

(1) This record is found on p. 266 of Elder Alexander Mack's MS. Diary.

breaking was held in Germantown after having rested a whole year, two months and twenty days."

In 1800 (in September), "again was held the Lord's Supper in blessedness the week after three persons were baptized. The holy bread-breaking had rested eighteen months in the Brotherhood of the Taufers at Germantown."

The 19th of November, 1801, "the Lord's Supper was held in the Taufer Brotherhood at Germantown where the bread of the Lord as a remembrance and a message of the death of Jesus Christ was broken in Communion, after having rested for one year, one month and fifteen days."

This is the last Communion attended by Elder Mack. The phrases characterizing the service are significant.

6. Change in the Lord's Supper.

As early as 1820, David Sower in a letter to his sister, Catharine Harley, says, "Forty years ago if any of the church had dared to make the changes which Elders Keyser and Price have made what would old brother George Schneider have said? If instead of a hearty dish of soup and a good slice of meat, only bread and coffee had been placed before them [at the Lord's Supper] how would Sisters Annie Schreiber and Susannah Weber have scratched their heads in wonder."



Grave of Peter Leibert.

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and twenty pages, and was the first hymn book issued by the Brethren.⁽¹⁾ Prior to this the German *Psalter-spiel* was used.

Peter Leibert was a good writer and a successful preacher of the Brethren, and with the Sowers maintained an almost uninterrupted leadership in German printing from 1739 to 1796. This is a record of the early church for which the Brotherhood may well be grateful.

Peter Leibert died June 9, 1812, and is buried in the Brethren burying ground at Germantown.

8. Two Unknown Volumes.⁽²⁾

"A Choice Selection of Hymns for the Glory of Christ," is the title of a volume published in 1814, at Mathetchy, Pa., by Abraham Krupp, who was a member of the Brethren church.

There is in the Cassel collection an unfinished volume. It is a part of Mack's *Rites and Ordinances*. The volume was being translated into English by Henry Schlingluff, a deacon of the Germantown church. The book ends abruptly and has written after the last printed lines these words: "This book was a printing last year till about the fifth part thereof and a friend of mine stopped the press." The printed parts were thrown away as waste paper. One copy only was preserved by Henry Schlingluff. That copy

(1) Copy in the library of the writer.

(2) Copies of these rare volumes are now in the library of Juniata College.

Abraham H. Cassel found in Peter Leibert's bookbindery. Why the press was stopped is not known. The book was afterwards issued (1811) by John Binns, printer and later Mayor of Philadelphia.

9. Catharine Hummer.

No other woman in the colonial church created such a stir as Catharine Hummer. She was a woman of high spirit and intense emotional activity. In her zeal to advance the cause of the church she traveled with her father, who was a much-loved minister of the Brotherhood, and sang and spoke to many congregations. In York County the excitement was especially great. People came fully sixty miles to see and to hear this remarkable woman. The secret of her power lay in the fact that she had at stated times ecstatic visions.

The first vision occurred on the night of October 3, 1762. Three times ⁽¹⁾ she was called to the door by distinct knockings. The third time she answered the knock she saw an angel standing at the door. The angel informed her that love had grown cold among the Brethren. Then the angel prayed and sang with her. The effect in her words was, "After this I lay in a trance for the greater part of seven days and seven nights, so that my spirit was separated from my body." In this trance she saw heaven and angels and was permitted to commune with them. From that

(1) This account is abridged from her own confessions.

time she at will could translate herself in spirit into eternity, where she could see, hear and touch the divine wonders.

In the year 1762, November 12, she had another remarkable vision. She saw all the prophets and apostles. She also saw the five chosen ones—God, Jesus, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, standing and welcoming all faithful and baptized ones. Those not baptized had to tarry at the water which divides the earthly from the eternal realm until they had repented anew. This idea of repentance after death was an outgrowth of the doctrine of universal restoration to which many of the early members were committed. She saw, moreover, a man who had died and who came to the water. He was told he would have to be baptized before he could cross. He answered that he had been baptized in his infancy and had always thought that immersion was not so essential. Then he heard the words, "Jesus too was circumcised on the eighth day, and nevertheless was also baptized in his thirtieth year; therefore you will have to follow, and so he did." The vision is a lengthy one. It is taken up, in her narrative, with the entire question of baptism. In it she claims that God and Jesus insist upon trine immersion for adults only as legal baptism.

The third vision came to her December 6, 1762. It was a pæan of praise sung by an angel in contemplating the soon-to-be-attained rest of the saints in heaven.

On December 13, of the same year, a fourth vision was had which was much like the third. People thronged her meetings to gaze upon this phenomenal person. Upon some the influence of her recital of these visions was so great that they affirmed they heard most charming hymns sung by the angels in the air. When she married, it is said, she ceased to have these ecstatic experiences. Just how much credence one can place in such experiences it is not difficult to determine. The woman was emotional. The fervor of her spirit overcame her judgment, and she is to be classed with that interesting group of unique characters whose sensational rise is only equalled by their collapse.

November 6, 1763, she wrote from White Oak Land in Lancaster county to Elder Alexander Mack, in which letter occur such statements as the following:

Catharina Hummerin

"The winter of persecution is here. Contempt and persecution are strong. I set my trust on the dear Savior." "I am not only persecuted and hated by the world, but also by those that call themselves believers. They say that what has been done by me is idolatrous. They blaspheme whereof they know not."

"Dear Brother Sander, thou hast written me that the heaviest will weigh less than nothing in the end. I am imperfect. May the Lord give his good spirit

into my heart that when I am weighed I may have the right weight, and may be taken from this sorrowful world into eternal rest."

She signs herself, "Your humblest sister and fellow traveler, Catharine Hummer."

10. As Others See Us.

Edmund Burke, the famous English Statesman and orator, says,⁽¹⁾ "Pennsylvania is inhabited by upwards of 250,000 people, half of whom are Germans, Swedes and Dutch. Here you see Mennonites . . . and the Dumplers [Tunkers], a sort of German sect that live in something like a religious society, wear long beards, and a habit resembling that of friars. . . . They have schools taught, books printed, and even the common newspaper in their own language." It is evident that the learned Burke here confuses the Ephrata Society with its "habit resembling that of friars" and its "religious community" with the Tunkers, who wore no such garb and who never formed a community of goods in America.

Robert Proud, the first historian of Pennsylvania, has a fairly accurate estimate of the German Baptist Brethren in his now rare and valuable work.⁽²⁾

"Those people in Pennsylvania, called Dunkards, Tunkers, or Dumplers, are another species of German

(1) *Burke's Works*, Vol. IX, p. 345. Boston Edition of 1839. This description is dated 1755.

(2) Robert Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, etc., written between the years 1776 and 1780, and published by Zachariah Poulson, Jr., Philadelphia, 1798. Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. 345.

Baptists. They are singular in some of their opinions and customs; and perhaps more so in their manner of living, and personal appearance, than any others of that nature in the province, particularly those who reside at a place called by them Ephrata, in Lancaster county.

"They also hold it not becoming a follower of Jesus Christ to bear arms or fight; because, say they, their true Master has forbid His disciples to resist evil; and because He also told them not to swear at all, they will by no means take an oath, but adhere close to His advice, in the affirmation of *yea* and *nay*.

"As to their origin they allow of no other, than that which was made by Jesus himself, when He was baptized by John in Jordan. They have a great esteem for the New Testament, valuing it higher than the other books; and when they are asked about the articles of their faith, they say they know of no others but what are contained in this book; and therefore can give none.

"The rise, or collection of their present society, they seem to date about the year 1705;⁽¹⁾ many of them were educated among the German Calvinists, but left them, and, on account of their religious way of thinking and practice, several being banished from their homes, and otherwise persecuted, they resorted to Schwarzenau, in the county of Wittgenstein, and Creyfeld in the duchy of Cleves, belonging to the King of Prussia; where they had liberty of meeting without being disturbed. To these places they collected from several parts; as from Switzerland, Straszburg, the Palatinate, Silesia, etc.

(1) The reference is to Schwarzenau, 1708.

"They agreed on their exterior form of religion at Schwarzenau aforesaid; the manner of their baptism of immersion or plunging into water (from whence the name Dimpler, in their language) instead of the vulgar method of sprinkling, was established among them; as being not only more consistent with that which Christ himself suffered from John the Baptist, but also more agreeable to the practice of many of the primitive Christians.

"They hold what is called the Eucharist, in commemoration of the sufferings of Christ, at night, as they say, Christ himself kept it; washing at the same time one another's feet, agreeable to his example and command. They meet together to worship on the first day of the week, in confidence of His promise, who said, 'Where two or three are gathered together, in my name, there am I in the midst of them,' but those at Ephrata keep the seventh day of the week, for Sabbath; they profess a spiritual worship, and they have been remarkable, at the place last mentioned, for their fine singing at their devotion. They say they have suffered great persecution in Europe; of which they give particular accounts, and as appears in a manuscript, from which part of this account of them is taken."

Morgan Edwards⁽¹⁾ says:

It is very hard to give a true account of the principles of these Tunkers as they have not published any system or creed. . . .

"... They are *general baptists* in the sense which that phrase bears in Great Britain; but not Arians nor

(1) *History of the Baptists*, Vol. I. Pt. IV. p. 65.

Socinians, as most of their brethren in Holland are. General redemption they certainly hold; and, withal, general salvation; which tenets though wrong are consistent.

“They use great plainness of language and dress, like the Quakers; and like them will never swear nor fight. They will not go to law; nor take interest for the money they lend. They commonly wear their beards; and keep the first day Sabbath, except one congregation. They have the Lord's Supper with its ancient attendants of *love feast*, *washing feet*, *kiss of charity*, and *right-hand of fellowship*. They anoint the sick with oil for recovery, and use the *trine immersion*, with laying on of hands and prayer, even while the person baptized is in the water; which may easily be done as the party kneels down to be baptized, and continues in that position till both prayer and imposition of hands be performed. . . . Every brother is allowed to stand up in the congregation to speak in a way of exhortation and expounding, and when by that means they find a man eminent for *knowledge* and *aptness* to teach, they choose him to be a minister, and ordain him with imposition of hands, attended with fasting and prayer, and giving the right hand of fellowship. They also have *deacons*; and ancient widows for *deaconesses*; and *exhorters*, who are licensed to use their gifts stately.

“They pay not their ministers unless it be in the way of presents; though they admit their right to pay; neither do the ministers assert the right; esteeming it *more blessed to give than to receive*. Their acquaintance with the Bible is admirable. In a word they are meek

and pious Christians; and have justly acquired the character of the *Harmless Tunkers*."

Benjamin Franklin, in his *Autobiography*, has the following good words for the Brethren, in which he commends their prudence, judgment, and modesty:

"Those embarrassments that the Quakers suffered from having established and published it as one of their principles that no kind of war was lawful and which, being once published they could not afterwards, however they might change their minds, easily get rid of, reminds me of, what I think, a more prudent conduct in another sect among us, that of the Dunkers. I was acquainted with one of its founders, Michael Wohlfahrt.⁽¹⁾ Soon after it appeared he complained to me that they were grievously calumniated by the zealots of other persuasions, and charged with abominable principles and practices, to which they were utter strangers. I told him this had always been the case with new sects, and that, to put a stop to such abuse, I imagined it might be well to publish the articles of their belief, and the rules of their discipline. He said it had been proposed among them, but not agreed to, for this reason: 'When we were first drawn together as a society,' said he, 'it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines, which were esteemed truths, were errors, and that others which we had esteemed errors, were real truths. From time to time he has been pleased to afford us further light, and our principles have been improving and our errors diminishing.

(1) This Michael Wohlfahrt was an earnest follower of Beissel, and the remarks here made are largely descriptive of the Beissel society.

Now we are not sure that we have arrived at the end of this progression and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge, and we fear that if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves, as if bound and confined by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive further improvement, and our successors still more so, as conceiving, what their elders and founders had done, to be something sacred—never to be departed from.'

"This modesty in a sect is perhaps a single instance in the history of mankind. Every other sect, supposing itself in possession of all truth and that those who differ are so far in the wrong, like a man traveling in foggy weather, those at some distance before him on the road he sees wrapped up in the fog, as well as those behind him, and also the people in the fields on each side, but near him all appears clear, though in truth he is as much in the fog as any of them."

11. Influence of Emigration.

The French and Indian War made the English supreme over North America. The Revolutionary War drove out the French conquerors and left the colonies free and independent. At once the long stemmed tide of emigration over the Allegheny Mountains set in. First the hardy pioneer; then the invading army that drove the Indian to the West and North; then the agriculturist, whose coming marked the beginning of permanent occupation. The sturdy Germans were among the first to press to the Ohio and the Mississippi Valleys.

Among these pioneer farmers were many members of the German Baptist Brethren church. They carried their principles with them, and from 1790 to 1825 the great central plain was rapidly populated by the Brethren. They were so numerous by 1822 that Annual Meeting was for the first time held west of the Atlantic slope. This migration was, no doubt, remunerative to the individual members who formed the procession. But it was by no means a clear gain to the church. In a few years her borders were enlarged to almost ten times her former limits. In the old limits the membership was practically compact. The great annual assemblies moved from Virginia to Pennsylvania and back again, over a clearly defined route. The members were personally in close touch one with another. Their interests were largely the same. Their environment was the same. They lived in daily contact with other sects whose religious principles were in many respects similar to their own. There was a compactness, and hence a strength, in the colonial churches, due to the above conditions, that made the Brethren a power in the religious life of the times.

All this changed by this exodus to the west. Many of the frontier members were isolated. Some had no Christian companionship, no house of worship, no spiritual ministrations. They grew cold and indifferent and dropped out of the church,—they and their children. Others by heroic efforts carried the Gospel

to their neighbors and succeeded in winning new families to the Brotherhood. The losses and the gains may be said to balance each other, and there was no numerical gain to the church.

Many new families came as did the Brethren, and were isolated. They joined the Brotherhood because they needed spiritual fellowship. They gave to the church some of its noblest and its grandest leaders. But these had in many cases grown up in an environment unlike that of the Brethren. They came to the church with new ideals and new interpretations of doctrine. The whole fabric of doctrine so carefully wrought by the colonial churches was put to the test by these newer influences. The doctrines of the church were on trial. The church found itself expanded and hence locally weakened. In this condition it was forced to meet issues that tried its fundamental doctrines. It is remarkable that the church survived this epoch. It can be attributed to no human agency. God held His own in the hour of trial. The church triumphed, and slowly over valley and plain the religion of Christ planted itself securely and triumphantly.

But new problems now faced the church. Missionaries were urgently needed. Outposts were in need of ministerial visitation. Multitudinous occupations found representation in church membership. The new conditions demanded new avenues of activity. The work of Annual Meeting was greatly enlarged. The personal bond could no longer hold the members

together. The need of newspapers, and other denominational communications was felt. The conservative east met the enterprising west. The former was obliged gradually to yield. The latter, too, conceded much. A middle ground of church polity was enacted. But the church in all this was giving up and taking up. To her credit it is to be recorded that she never gave up any of her fundamental principles, and never took up any unscriptural ones. Here and there specific cases of congregational irregularities were inevitable. These were corrected by committees from Annual Meeting and in this way unity and harmony were preserved.

The rapid growth of cities introduced a new element. The early church was largely made up of agriculturists. But the rise of industries about 1830, and the rapid growth of cities, drew many of the younger members to industrial centers. The church was obliged to follow these members to the city or lose them. The city conditions were so unlike those the church had so long known that time and experiment were necessary to find the right basis for instituting and maintaining city churches. This problem is not yet wholly solved. But the growth of the church in the future must be in urban as well as in rural districts. The proportion of urban over rural life is steadily and rapidly increasing. No church can grow under these conditions unless it plants itself in the centers of life. The city is the future field of increase.

The church must retain its hold upon rural territory. It needs and must have the sturdy, honest, devout membership that strengthens and matures with sun and soil. But it must also carry the saving Gospel of the Savior of the world to the great and growing city life of the nation. There must be no shirking, no evading, no neglecting of this inevitable condition if the church is to represent fully and truly the purpose and mission of its being.

One additional lesson is plainly taught by this extension of the church territory. The number of members per square mile is growing less. The rush to what some well-paid agent represents as more favored territory has greatly complexed the work of the church. It is a serious menace now to its usefulness. Home traditions, ancestral graves, good schools, and convenient churches are abandoned. The family pushes to the new territory. The loss is great. The compensating gain in larger acreage and larger yield of products will scarcely compensate for the surrenders made. The individual in many cases is sadly disappointed. In some cases members are scarcely satisfied. Others, no doubt, content themselves with the material results of the new conditions. But, on the whole, the advantage is by no means apparent. For the church, the loss is manifest. New congregations, small in numbers, and financially limited as yet, call for assistance, and the older and more stable congregations are obliged to send more help to these

than would have been necessary to aid the same members to comfort and prosperity in the home congregations.

The early members were mutually helpful, and no one was required to move because of poverty. The teaching of the early churches made it a willing duty to labor to retain in compact centers the membership. Unless a strong central power is maintained expansion becomes weakness. The church to-day needs the spirit of coöperative helpfulness and not the spirit of isolation. It is the lesson of history.

12. Some Pioneer Events.

The first movement of members to the middle west was from the Carolinas. Kentucky was the earliest home of the church in the Ohio Valley. Elder Casper Rolland⁽¹⁾ was, perhaps, the first minister to settle in the State of Kentucky. He was soon followed by Elder John Hendricks, also of North Carolina.

About 1787 Elder George Wolfe removed from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to Fayette County. There was a settlement of the Brethren in Fayette County immediately after the Revolutionary War. This body of emigrants forced an open gateway to the west over the route formerly taken by Braddock's army, a route that later became known as the "Old

(1) Elder Rolland was ordained April 1, 1800, in South Carolina by David Martain. David Martain was ordained by Daniel Letterman, who in turn was ordained by the founder of the church, Alexander Mack.

1865, and is buried near Liberty, Adams County, Illinois.⁽²⁾

13. Far Western Brethren.

Brother Wolfe belonged to what were known as the "Far Western Brethren." They washed feet after supper, and before the communion. The sisters broke the bread and passed the cup of communion the same as the brethren. They omitted the reading of a chapter between the supper and the communion, and passed the salutation after the communion as a farewell token of love. They also practiced the single mode of feet-washing.

A committee met in 1820 at Benjamin Coffman's in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky, to reconcile the differences that grew from the expansion of the church, as heretofore related. The committee did not succeed. A second one met soon thereafter, at Elder Hochstetter's, in Shelby County, Kentucky. This is the beginning of a long series of agitations against the double mode of feet washing, an agitation that has not even yet wholly died away; but which had a partial quietus placed upon it by the Annual Meeting of 1879.

The effect of these conflicting views on the mode of observing the ordinances was that many members in the West, notably in Kentucky, were cut off. Brother A. H. Cassel estimates the loss in Kentucky alone at

(2) For an admirable sketch of Elder Wolfe, see an article by Elder J. H. Moore in *Brethren's Family Almanac* for 1893.

fifteen hundred. This estimate is, perhaps, too large. These disowned members soon spread to the frontier and builded churches. Efforts at reconciliation began as early as 1750, and in 1855 a committee of eleven elders met these "Far Western Brethren" and effected a compromise, by which mutual forbearance in the spirit of love was advised. In 1859 a complete reconciliation was had. But the mode of feet-washing was left optional to each congregation.⁽¹⁾

14. Christopher Sower on Going to Law.

No man ever appealed to Elder Sower in vain. Once a man from a distance came to Sower in great distress, and begged him to loan him a sum of money. This Elder Sower gladly did. In the near future this man by chance attended divine service and heard Elder Sower preach. His theme was non-resistance, and he dwelt upon the evils of going to law.

The man took advantage of the sermon to benefit himself. He called on Elder Sower and said, "Mr. Sower I heard you preach that if any man should take that is thine, ask it not again. Is that your sentiment?" "Yes;" was the answer, "that is not only my sentiment but it is the Divine injunction of our Lord, as you will find recorded in his blessed Word." "Then I tell you," said the man, "that I owe you that money yet and unless you sue me for it, I shall never pay it."

(1) See *Classified Minutes*, p. 311.

"I am sorry," said the pious old elder, "but if you say so, I cannot help it. Sue you I will not. If you have made up your mind not to pay me unless I sue you, I will cancel the account now."

"Well, I shall not pay you."

The man went his way and Elder Sower cancelled the account.

Years went by. One morning the man rode to the door of Sower's house, dismounted, and entered. "Good morning, Mr. Sower," said the man, "I have brought you your money."

"My money! Why I thought you resolved not to pay me unless I sued you!"

"I did so resolve, but that money has been a constant source of trouble to me. I cannot rest till the debt is paid."

"But," said Elder Sower, "I cancelled the account, forgave you the obligation, and have therefore no right to take it of you now."

The man insisted upon paying the debt, counted the amount with interest, and laid it down upon the desk in Sower's office. Sower now saw that the man was really penitent and anxious to honor the religious principle of non-resistance and so advised the man to take the money and give it to certain poor people whom he named.

15. On War.

The Church of the Brethren never sanctioned, never encouraged, never participated in war. Peace as a

fundamental principle was and always has been honored by the members. Every war that has swept the country was steadfastly opposed by the church. The Revolutionary War was a severe test. Many of the members were anxious to see the new government prosper and succeed. But they could not, they did not fight. We have seen how Elder Sower was persecuted and robbed for conscience' sake. In his own defense Elder Sower appeared at the Annual Meeting of 1780, held in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and asked guidance and vindication from his own Christian associates. The minutes of this meeting have not been found; but it is safe to say that he was cordially received, his requests granted, and his fellowship and eldership honored. This is apparent from the fact that in the same year, and no doubt by direction of this Annual Meeting, he and Elder Martin Uner visited the churches of Eastern Pennsylvania and ordained a number of elders. Reference to this tour has already been made in a previous chapter to which the reader is referred.

The queries he submitted at this meeting are as follows:⁽¹⁾

QUERY I. As there are yet debts due me on bonds, notes, and book debts, who has the best right to demand them of the people I or the state?

QUERY II. If a man is openly declared a traitor with-

(1) Original queries in Elder Sower's handwriting are now in my possession.

out a cause, without having a trial, when he was not absent and might have been heard, is it just to let him forever lie under that reproach?

QUERY III. Is it right that Col. Smith be permitted to carry on a law-suit against my son Daniel and to pocket £50 hard money to himself when he has paid the state (if ever he has) with a trifle of Continental [money]?

In the Cassel collection was found a decision of the Annual Meeting concerning the War of 1812, a decision which has not heretofore been published. It will be found in its proper place in the chapter on Annual Meeting. The action of the church on subsequent wars is well known. It is somewhat remarkable that the late Spanish-American War should have passed and the church failed to record its time-honored and Bible-sanctioned opposition to war.

16. On Changes in the Ordinances.

Since this topic had so much to do with the growth of Annual Meeting's power in the church, and since it has been a question that apparently will not down, it may not be inapt to note that the double mode has no warrant in the practice of the early church.

When the Ephrata Society, under the lead of Conrad Beissel, withdrew from the Brotherhood formally in December, 1728, the Ephrata Society was no longer a part of the Brotherhood. It was, however, in close touch geographically with the early congregations

and held all the ordinances of the Brethren sacred, and observed them in some way or other. As soon as Beissel had warrant of free action he began, gradually, to modify the mode of administering the ordinances. The love feast was held at any irregular time, was held privately, and was attended only by such members of his community as were specially invited. In 1753, George Ross, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Israel Acrelius, missionary to the Swedes on the Delaware, visited Ephrata. The account of this by Acrelius follows:

"Mr. Ross returned home and left me alone. A knot of brethren to the number of ten, met in Müller's⁽¹⁾ white and clean anteroom—I cannot say whether to visit me or to show their respect for Müller. At six o'clock they broke up and went to the sisters' convent one by one, after each other, up the hill. I asked what it meant? Müller answered that they were going to a love feast among the sisters. I said, 'Come, I will go along.' Müller declined, as he had not been invited, and also said, 'I knew nothing of that meeting until they assembled here.'"

Again he says, "Sometimes the invitations are so secret that the others know nothing about it until the

(1) This Müller was the famous Peter Miller, Brother Jabez, successor of Beissel as the head of the Society, and at this time a minister, second only to Beissel in authority.

(2) Acrelius' *History of New Sweden*, p. 381.

meal is prepared. No one goes to a love feast without an invitation."⁽¹⁾

It will be easy to see how utterly this mode of procedure departed from the practice of the Brethren. Imagine a love feast in a congregation and all the ministers not present, not even invited!

Beissel also changed the mode of administering the holy communion. Beissel stood at the altar, at one end of the room in the "Saal," or meetinghouse, and one after another of the members walked forward and received from him the sacrament in bread and wine. This was followed with feet-washing afterwards.

By this violent transfer of privilege from people to pastor the Ephrata Society were reduced to the position of subordinates, and the preacher became a full-fledged ecclesiastic. The early practice of the Brethren was in this as in all things democratic. There was no unnecessary usurpation of priestly prerogatives. The Lord's Supper was a meal in common. Every member was equally honored; so it was with the communion.

We have already noted how Elder George Adam Martin in 1762 went over to the Ephrata Society. With him went part of the Bermudian congregation. To these he was called as elder or leader, assuming some such relation as that of Beissel over the Ephrata congregation. Beissel went to the Ber-

(1) Acrelius' *History of New Sweden*, p. 377.

mudian country and a love feast was held. The account of this love feast follows: "When it was resolved to hold a bread-breaking and a priest was required for it, his [Beissel's] humility taught him to make room for Brother G. A. [*i. e.*, George Adam Martin], who, in consequence presided, though their love feasts were still held in Corinthian fashion, and not in the manner in which they were held at Ephrata. Soon after another breaking of bread was held, the administration of which they conferred on the Superintendent [Beissel], which he promised to undertake on condition that they would permit him to break in the manner in which he had been taught. To do this they would not agree.

* * *

"The reason why the Superintendent took offense at their way of breaking bread was because they were of opinion that all must be equals; and, therefore, they did not wish to allow any prerogative or privilege to any one person among them,"⁽¹⁾

Here then is Beissel up in arms against the "Corinthian fashion," which fashion the Bermudian members had learned from the church of the Brethren, and up in arms against the practice of George Adam Martin, who was taught of Martin Urner, Peter Becker and Alexander Mack. And what was the "Corinthian fashion?" It was that in the communion *all must be equals*. This then was the custom of the early

(1) *Chron. on Ephratense*, pp. 260, 261.

Brethren. The members broke bread and gave the cup to one another, and so throughout the entire communing number, male and female. The only other known way was Beissel's, in which the elder broke bread at the altar for each one, male and female. Enough has been recorded to show that at the beginning, and at least for fifty-four years, in the early church the sisters were treated exactly like the brethren, and each one passed the cup and broke the communion bread. The custom now in vogue of having the sisters receive the emblems from the elder's hand is, therefore, an innovation, and not the mode of the early church.

If then Beissel was free to modify the love feast, and the communion he would likely also assume to himself the prerogatives of an innovator in other ways. So it was with feet-washing. When in 1762, the same George Adam Martin above referred to and John Horn paid a visit to Ephrata, they were received by Conrad Beissel in his own home and made welcome. What followed one may read in Martin's own words:

"While conversing animatedly a sister entered, brought a tub of water and an apron, put them down and silently left; who she was, or who had ordered her to do so, I do not know even to this very hour. The old Father [Beissel] rose and said, 'Come, brethren, sit down here, I will wash your feet.' So he washed our feet, and Brother Nägele dried them for

us. Then I said: 'You have washed our feet, now let us also wash yours,' to which they consented; so I washed their feet and Brother Horn dried them."⁽¹⁾

Here then is the record of the double mode at Ephrata. But the Brethren from the beginning practiced the single mode and earnestly protested against any effort to introduce the mode of the Ephrata mystics. Strange, indeed, it is that a practice born in an outside and antagonistic community should have entered the church and for the space of a hundred years given cause for legislation and in some cases expulsion.⁽²⁾

It will be noted that the "Far Western Brethren," especially Elder George Wolfe, stood for the single mode; Elder Wolfe's father, also an elder, was born and reared in the Lancaster county churches. He knew the practice of the members in Eastern Pennsylvania outside of Ephrata. It will be recalled, too, that the settlement under the Eckerlins on New River in Virginia, was an offshoot of Ephrata. Perhaps this settlement is partly responsible for the double mode in feet-washing, and for the anomalous combination of Bible and Beissel practice in passing the bread and wine at the communion.

Abraham H. Cassel asserts that the double mode

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 253.

(2) This expulsion is asserted on the authority of Abraham H. Cassel, and founded on the "Far Western Brethren" controversies.

in feet-washing had its origin in the Coventry congregation, under the direction of Martin Urner. This is supported by the acquiescence of George Adam Martin to this mode in 1762, as above recited. Martin was a minister under Urner at Coventry. This innovation occurred before Annual Meeting assumed disciplining functions. Hence the practice of the congregation was not subject to revision. The Germantown brethren protested and admonished, but had no power to act against the new mode. Hence it remained and was taken up by the Conestoga congregation. These two, Coventry and Conestoga, were the great feeders of emigration, and in this way the double mode no doubt was largely spread and practiced.

The second Alexander Mack was always in favor of the single mode, and never allowed any other practice in the Germantown church. On his death-bed he charged his successors to adhere to the single mode. Elder John Fox in 1871 said, "I am now eighty-five years old and feel that my days are few. I have been a member of the Brethren church at Germantown and Philadelphia for fifty-nine years. My parents were members of the mother church in Germantown. I remember well, when but a boy, of being led by the hand of my father and mother to the love feast and communion at Germantown. I very distinctly recollect seeing Brother Peter Keyser wash and wipe my grandfather, Alexander Mack's feet

and Brother Alexander Mack would wash and wipe Brother Keyser's feet. I remember this well for I was eighteen years old when my grandfather died. And that has been the custom down to the present day in the church at Germantown, and who can doubt that my grandfather, Alexander Mack, who was the presiding elder at the time, received it direct from his father who was the first elder the German Baptist church had."⁽¹⁾

The written statements of Susanna Douglass, Peter Keyser, John W. Price, Abram Harley, Elizabeth Hagy and Abraham H. Cassel are among those whose testimony upon this point conclusively establishes the fact that the single mode was the original mode with the Brethren.

17. The Dress Question.

At the founding of the church dress was not a factor in its administrative or professed activity. The early church was persecuted and meetings were often held in secret. It is evident that under such conditions no distinctive garb was worn. In fact safety and protection lay in avoiding any mark by dress or otherwise that would call down upon the worshiper the strong arm of persecution.

There is every reason, however, to believe that the early members dressed plainly and modestly, though not distinctively, as an economic measure and as an

⁽¹⁾ Original letter in the Cassel collection.

expression of their faith that religion was against vain show.

There is no record to indicate that any distinctive dress was worn by the first comers to America. But here in Pennsylvania the Quaker hat and bonnet became the symbol of non-resisting people. Those who sided with the proprietary and against the council naturally adopted the dress of the Quakers, whence arose the head dress of the members. This gradual adoption of a distinctive garb was, of course, sanctioned by the membership generally as being in harmony with the principles of the Gospel. So far as investigation shows the first agitation of the dress question at Annual Meeting did not occur until the closing decade of the Eighteenth Century.

Before the Revolutionary War the notorious hoop-skirt was adopted by society women in Philadelphia. Against this vulgarism the whole spirit of the church was set. Christopher Sower, in his newspaper, denounces it vehemently. The women of the church did not adopt the new fashion. They became, for that reason, distinctive in their dress. In this they were followed by the Mennonites, and other plain people, as well as by the more devout Quakers.

One more influence here deserves record. Multi-colored fabrics were imported prior to the Revolutionary War by the English merchants. When the colonies resisted English tyranny they agreed also voluntarily, to give up the wearing of imported fabrics

18. The Mode of Baptism.

From the first trine immersion for adults only was held to be baptism by the Brethren. The mode of administering the rite may not be uninteresting. Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Churches in America and Rector of Old Swedes' Church, Wilmington, Del., in his report⁽¹⁾ of the religious work among the Swedes in America gives us an accurate description of the mode of baptism in the following:

"They [Dunkers] seldom receive any others than those who have been already baptized, and who thus have some knowledge of Christianity; but if they have been brought up in our society we first instruct⁽²⁾ them. When they come to the water the minister there puts to them the necessary questions, which are to be answered [the confession of faith was made standing, not kneeling]. Then the person falls down upon his knees in the water, places both his opened hands before his mouth, with the ends of his fingers turned towards his nose, so as to keep his nostrils closed, and the same with his mouth. The minister then lays his right hand [Does he mean left hand?] crosswise over the other's hands and presses them closely together, holding his left hand [Does he mean right hand?] behind his neck, and thus plunges the person."

(1) *Description of the Former and Present Condition of the Swedish Churches in what was called New Sweden now Pennsylvania, etc.*, Stockholm, Printed by Harberg and Hasselberg, 1759. p. 394.

(2) Do we now *instruct* our children as carefully and as minutely upon the ordinances as our fathers did?

This is done three times, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

19. Baptism in a Tub.

In 1728, word was received by Conrad Beissel to hasten to the house of Peter Beller. When he arrived he found the daughter, a young woman, "about breathing her last, who desired baptism from him. Beissel expressed his preference for baptism in a flowing stream, but the girl's parents objected to having her taken from the house. So she was baptized in the house in a tub. Thereupon she asked to have a meeting at her house on the next Sabbath, which the Superintendent (Beissel) granted her; but when the congregation assembled there at the appointed time, they found her lying in her coffin; so the meeting was turned into a funeral. God grant her a blessed resurrection! This so deeply moved the parents that they both had themselves also baptized."⁽¹⁾

20. A Sad Separation.

Sometime in the first quarter of the present century David Sower, who seems to have been elected a minister of the congregation on the Skippack, received one Anna Johnson into the church by baptism. But in doing so he administered immersion once and that by the backward action "in the name of Jesus." He justified this by saying each one is to be baptized upon

⁽¹⁾ *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 42. The mother of this young woman died in 1748.

the confession of his or her *own* faith; that this woman's faith was in the mode indicated. "I baptized her thus," said he, "upon the confession of *her* faith, not upon the *preacher's* faith." This was a new position. It raised a storm of protestation, and Elders Peter Keyser and John Price put him out of the church.

He protested against this action of the elders and adds, "Who gave them power to put us out of the church? If we had done anything contrary to the Word of God, it was their duty to bring it before meeting; and if they could have proved that we acted not in accordance with the Scriptures they might have won us over to them." From which it is seen (1) that the church adhered strictly to trine immersion; and (2) that the practice of dealing with members by the whole congregation, and not by the elders alone, was the common and accepted method of procedure in cases of discipline.

In the same letter⁽¹⁾ he complains that several congregations, Germantown and Coventry, held love feasts and did not invite members of other congregations, an omission that pained him much and that was in open violation of the long established custom of inviting all the congregations to the love feast of each one.

(1) Letter of David Sower to his Sister Catharine Harley, dated "Fayette Co., Pa., May 28, 1823." Original in possession of the writer.

Schaefer and Maund, 1816.

Heinrich Ritter, 1829

George Mentz and son, 1833, and frequently thereafter until 1850.

A fire destroyed the plates, and no edition has since appeared. At least fourteen editions of this remarkable book of hymns was thus issued for the Germans of Pennsylvania. Of these thirteen are in the Cas-sel collection, now at Juniata College.

Thus the Brethren introduced the most important and widely used German hymn book of Colonial America.

22. Unwritten Chapters.

In the periodicals, almanacs, and volumes recently issued by the Brethren are many interesting sketches of early churches and early brethren. Some of these are quite accurate, and others are the compilations of verbal tradition and will not bear the test of historic accuracy. Not wishing to be invidious, the writer has deemed it prudent to omit all such articles and to devote the limits of this volume to unwritten and unat-tempted history.

There should be an article in a later publication on the growth of the publication interests of the modern church, beginning with those sterling men of God, elders Henry R. Kurtz and James Quinter.

The church has had a phenomenal growth in educa-tional activity. From the day, now forgotten, when

the church opposed college education to the present, what a transformation!

October 14, 1861, Elder James Quinter began at New Vienna,⁽¹⁾ Ohio, the movement that finally culminated in the founding of the present educational institutions: Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania; Mount Morris College, Illinois; Bridgewater College, Virginia; Lordsburg College, California; McPherson College, Kansas; and others of more recent growth at North Manchester, Indiana; Fruitdale, Alabama; and Daleville, Virginia. To them must be added the now large number of public educational institutions in which men and women of the church are engaged as teachers, principals and superintendents.

The immediate result of this educational activity is shown in the expanding mission work, home and foreign; creation of Sabbath schools; rapid increase in denominational literature of a high order; extensive travel to foreign lands, notably to Germany and Palestine by such well-known brethren as elders D. L. Miller, H. B. Brumbaugh and J. H. Moore, together with a score or more of other devoted members of the church, whose example and whose writings are transforming the church; the creation of committees on mission, tract, and publication interests, and the endowment of the same; the control by the church of her own press and productions; and many other phases

(1) For an account of this school see *Quinter's Life and Sermons*, p. 38.

of activity within the church from which the church must in the near future derive the strength and insight to press the Lord's work to glorious results.

23. *On Doctrine.*

From the first the German Baptist church challenged all creeds and turned triumphantly to the word of God for its faith and for its practice. Her evangelic tenets are clear and consistent. The triune God is accepted, the divinity of Jesus declared, the function of the Holy Ghost honored.

Faith, repentance and baptism are the steps to salvation. Through these and these alone is conversion possible.

Baptism is administered by trine immersion. From this mode⁽¹⁾ there has never been any departure. Infant baptism is regarded as unscriptural.

Feet-washing, as taught in John 13, is held to be a divine ordinance. It has always been observed in connection with the love feast or *agape*. It is not observed at any other time. The Brethren seek no apology for this ordinance. Jesus commanded it. His people obey.

The Love Feast, or Lord's Supper, as a divine ordinance, likewise is observed in connection with the Communion, never at any other time. It is a full meal, partaken by the members in the evening only.

(1) See Quinter's *Trine Immersion*.

congregation appeals for guidance to District Meetings, made up of delegates from the respective churches. The District Meetings, may, when the conditions seem to warrant, appeal to the Annual Meeting, the highest tribunal of the church. It is made up of two representative bodies; the Standing Committee, composed of one or two delegates from each District, and chosen by the District Meeting; and the delegates, chosen from each congregation. The decisions of this Meeting are final.

Elders, ministers, and deacons, elected by the church from among her members, have charge of all congregational activity. The ministry is not salaried; but poor ministers and missionaries are always cared for by the church.

Dress.—The Brethren are a plain people. They dress modestly and decently. What is more than this is held to be a violation of the plain precepts of the New Testament and at variance with the spirit of the church, as it certainly is, with the practice of the early church.

Law.—The membership, in obedience to the teachings of Jesus, avoid all legal controversies, holding that it is better to suffer than to seek vindication at the hands of the law. If, however, a member deems it a duty to appeal to the law and can give good reasons for the same, the church may grant him the authority to so appeal. Between members, however, all differences are adjusted in the congregational meetings,

called Council Meetings. The members do not swear, but affirm without raising the hand or kissing the Bible. They avoid all litigation and reluctantly act as witnesses in courts of justice, and do not sit on juries trying murderers, holding conscientious scruples against capital punishment.

Peace, as a doctrine of the church, is fundamental. The Brethren do not go to war, and have steadfastly, and amid great persecution, refused to take up arms. There is no peace society in America that more steadfastly and consistently honors the teachings of Jesus on this point than the Brethren.

Secret Societies have always been opposed by the church, and membership in them, of whatever grade or character, is absolutely forbidden. No member of an oath-bound society can become a member of the church without first severing all connection with such organizations.

Marriage is a divine ordinance and cannot be dissolved by courts of law. Hence divorce is forbidden and divorced persons are not admitted to membership until the death of the divorced wife or husband.

Anointing with oil, by the elders, is observed in obedience to James 5: 14, 15.

Aged and poor members are cared for by the Brotherhood. Members are not sent to almshouses. In many parts of the Brotherhood homes for the aged are now erected and maintained by the respective Districts.

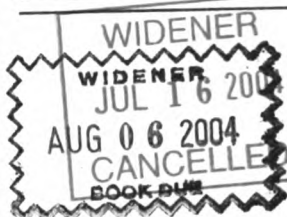
Temperance is a time-honored and Bible-sanctioned principle. The church, from its beginning has refused to allow any member to engage in the liquor traffic, to drink intoxicants, or to use tobacco. The oldest temperance society in the country is the church of the German Baptist Brethren. The membership is temperate, sober, honest and industrious. For almost two centuries it has been a proverb among the people that "the word of a Tunker is as good as his bond." They pay all their obligations promptly and do not live beyond their income.

In a word, the members are taught to obey the teachings and example of the blessed Savior in all things, and to prove by their daily walk and conversation that they live the Christ-life again in this world. May this holy ideal never be forgotten!

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